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Cromwell

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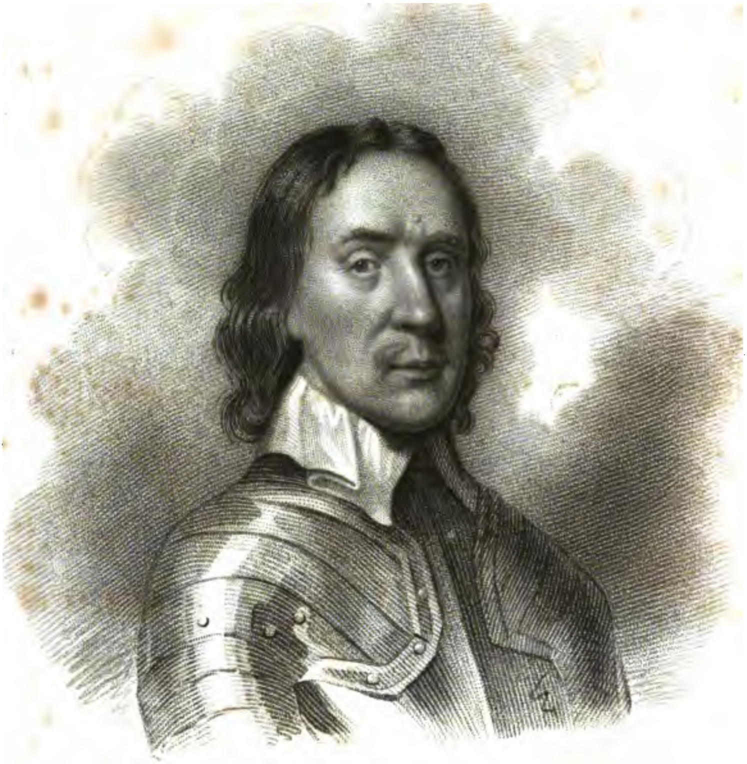

Oliver Cromwell.

Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a half length Portrait, Painted by Walker, in 1655, in the Poſseſsion of Oliver Cromwell Esq.^{r}

Published by Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown, London Jan.y 1st 1820.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PROTECTOR, OLIVER CROMWELL,

AND OF HIS SONS,

RICHARD AND HENRY.

ILLUSTRATED BY

ORIGINAL LETTERS, AND OTHER FAMILY PAPERS.

By OLIVER CROMWELL, Esq.

A DESCENDANT OF THE FAMILY.

WITH PORTRAITS FROM ORIGINAL PICTURES.

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1821.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been the singular ill fortune of Oliver Cromwell, and of his family, that his character hath been left exclusively in the hands of his enemies. The short interval between his death and the Restoration, and the unsettled state of the nation in the intermediate time, left no opportunity for a faithful and impartial history of that extraordinary man. From that time to the present, his memory hath been abused and vilified without any allowance for the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed: his name alone is to this day deemed by many a sufficient description of every thing that is ambitious, hypocritical, and tyrannical. He has been held forth as a composition of every bad quality, without one virtue to counterbalance them. The particular views of all those who took a part in the troubles of the times in which he acted, were frustrated by his ascendancy, and however differing in other respects, they have united in blackening his memory. Every trifling or ridiculous story of the supposed irregularities of his youth, and of the imagined tricks and childish follies even of his very infancy, have been eagerly sought for, and, without examination, credited against him. An opinion that his character hath not met with fair treatment, and a hope to place it in the light in which it is conceived it is justly entitled to stand, have given rise to this work; not begun with any view to its publication, but as the amusement of the Writer's leisure hours. To accomplish this object, it became necessary to refer to the history of those eventful and arduous times in which Cromwell lived and acted; and the perusal of the several contemporary histories of those transactions has led to the idea of attempting a short but correct narrative of the principal transactions of those times, by bringing together those histories, and comparing them with each other; and thence endeavouring to produce one, freed from the partialities and prejudices of all parties.

With this view, and under these impressions, it becomes proper to commence this work from the accession of King Charles the First.

Lord Clarendon, in the Introduction to his History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, says, that he shall not lead any man farther back than the beginning of the present reign of King Charles the First; because that he is not so sharp-sighted as those who have discovered this rebellion contriving from, if not before, the death of Queen Elizabeth, and fomented by several princes and great ministers of state in Christendom, to the time it brake out. Neither doth he look back so far as he doth, in this history, because he believes the design to have been even so long then since formed; but that by viewing the tempers, disposition, and habit at that time, of the court and of the country, we may discern the minds of men prepared, of some to act, and of others to suffer all that had since happened: the pride of this man, and the popularity of that; the levity of one, and the morosity of another; the excess of the court in the greatest want, and the parsimony and retention of the country in the greatest plenty: the spirit of craft and subtilty in some, and the unpolished integrity of others, too much despising craft or art, and contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us. His Lordship accordingly commences his History from the death of King James.

Yet Lord Clarendon must have better known the history of his country, than to be ignorant of the discontents of the last, and of the four preceding reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary, King Edward the Sixth, and of Henry the Eighth: and those of the last reign in particular, were evidently leading to an open rupture between the King and his subjects. But a faithful narrative of those times does not seem to have been His Lordship's principal object; his work is, under the title of a history, an attempted defence or palliation of all the King's measures, in order to prove his subjects' opposition to them to be an unprovoked rebellion. He consequently endeavours to keep out of sight, all the provocations the people had experienced in the preceding reigns, which would have accounted for the ill humour in which they were found upon the accession of King Charles; meaning, by the above (otherwise unintelligible) flourish, to have it understood, that the discontents began with his reign, and originated in the whim, and caprice, and craft, and subtilty of the moment, without any sufficient previous cause. Indeed, it is expressly stated in the preface to the above history, that it was begun by the express command of the King, (Charles the First,) who, having a desire that an account of the calamities God was pleased to inflict on the unhappy part of his reign should be reported to posterity by some worthy, honest, and knowing man, thought he could not appoint any one more adorned with such qualifications than this writer. The history, therefore, thus commanded to be written, he (the King) must have expected to be a defence or extenuation of his measures, rather than an impartial history, and in this light it must be considered.

Mr. Hume, in a short account of the eminent writers of those times, at the conclusion of the history of the Commonwealth, observes, that this age afforded great materials for history, but did not produce any accomplished historian. Lord Clarendon, however, says he, will always be esteemed an entertaining writer; even independent of our curiosity to know the facts which he relates: —that his style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods; but it discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases us, at the same time that we disapprove of it: that he is more partial in appearance than in reality, for he seems perpetually anxious to apologise for the king, but that his apologies are often well grounded: that he is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: that he was too honest a man to falsify the former, but that his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter: that an air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work, as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author.

The correctness or incorrectness of these observations will be seen in the intended progress through his work, and its comparison with the other histories of those times.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, says, he does not intend prosecuting the history of the wars; that Rushworth's collections contain many excellent materials; and that the first volume of the Earl of Clarendon's history, gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, though writ in favour of the court, and full of the best excuses that such ill things were capable of.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who was a daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower of London to King James and King Charles the First, in her life of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, forcibly describes the treatment of the non-conformists of those reigns. She says, that the payment of civil obedience to the King and the laws of the land satisfied not; that if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned amongst the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted. Thus, adds she, "The two factions in those days grew to great heights and enmities, one against the other, while the Papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals between them."

Mr. Hume, observing upon the alteration of public opinion which Europe, especially England, had about this period undergone, and was undergoing, says, — In England, the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitably to that cultivated understanding which became every day more common amongst men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited in every generous breast a passion for a limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those manly virtues which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples, as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to us. That King James thought all legal power to be centred in his own person, by an hereditary and a divine right; and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty, had not the firmness of the persuasion, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the smallest provision, either of force or politics, in order to support it. That such were the opposite dispositions of Parliament and Prince at the commencement of the Scottish line; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in the Parliament, but thoroughly established and openly avowed on the part of the Prince.

That the King (James) was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; the people were soured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money; and in that situation it is no wonder that, during his whole reign, we scarcely find one interval of mutual confidence and friendship between Prince and Parliament.

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MEMOIRS
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL,
AND OF
HIS SONS RICHARD AND HENRY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ACCESSION OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.—FIRST PARLIAMENT — DISSOLVED. — SECOND PARLIAMENT — DISSOLVED.—THIRD PARLIAMENT—DISSOLVED. 1628. 5 CHA.

KING Charles the First's reign commenced on the 27th of March, 1625, the day of his father's death, at the age of twenty-five years, being born at Dumferling in Scotland, in the year 1600, and baptised by a presbyterian minister of that country, according to Neal's History of the Puritans; who adds, that in his youth he was of a weakly constitution and stammering speech, and suspected to be of a perverse nature. When his father, says the same writer, came to the English crown, he took him from his Scotch tutor, and placed him under those that gave him an early aversion to that kirk into which he had been baptised, and to those doctrines of Christianity for which he had the greatest veneration.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in her life of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, relating the accession of the King upon the death of his father, says the face of the court was much changed in the change of the King; for that King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious, so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites of the former court grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the King to retire into corners to practise them. That men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteem, and received encouragement from the King, who was a most excellent judge, and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit which was the only exercise of the other court. That he married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband.

The only contemporary writers of the history of this reign of any note, are Lord Clarendon, Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Rushworth, General Ludlow, and Mr. May. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars is avowedly on the part of royalty; having been undertaken by the King's express command. Whitelock and Rushworth took the Parliament-side; as did Ludlow, who was a decided republican. Mr. May wrote also on the part of the Parliament, his History of the three first years of the Long Parliament, and a Breviary of the History of the same Parliament, which is continued to the death of the King. The editor of the last edition of that work, in his preface, gives a quotation from a letter of Bishop Warburton to Dr. Hurd, in favour of it: he says it is an extraordinary performance, little known, written with great temper, good sense, and spirit, and has the qualities of a regular composition. And in a subsequent letter, he says it is a just composition, according to the rules of history; that it is written with much judgment, penetration, manliness, and spirit, and with a candour that will greatly increase your esteem, when you understand that he wrote by the order of his masters the Parliament. The opinion of the first Lord Chatham is also given in favour of this work in a letter to his nephew, afterwards Lord Camelford, then a young man, and a student at Cambridge. He says, " I desired you some time since to read Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars. I have lately read a much honester and more instructive book of the same period of history: it is the History of the Parliament, by Thomas May, Esq."

But Lord Clarendon, in his usual bitter mode of expressing himself of those who espoused the Parliament cause, says of Mr. May, (after speaking favourably of his parts and learning,) "that he was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places; yet, (to show that pride and envy have their influences upon the narrowest minds, and having the greatest semblance of humility,) though he had received much countenance, and a very considerable donative from the King, upon His Majesty's refusal to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenious person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own, he fell from his duty and all his former friends, and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the King; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so, shortly after, died miserable and neglected, and deserves to be forgotten."

With such bitterness and contempt does his Lordship express himself of all those who were in opposition to the King's measures.

Mrs. Hutchinson's Life of Colonel Hutchinson will be found useful and valuable, so far as it goes.

Whitelock and Rushworth must be deemed impartial historians: they state facts with few observations: indeed their works are more in the nature of diaries or journals, than histories; particularly Whitelock's. The preface, by the publisher of this work of Whitelock, says that the author never intended it to be printed, nor meant otherwise by it, than as a book for his memory and private use; yet that such was his relation to the public, so eminent his station, and so much was he upon the stage during all the time of action, that the particulars of his diary go very far towards a perfect history of those times. Rushworth, in his preface to his Historical Collections, says that his business in this work was to render a faithful account of several traverses of state, and of the most important passages in debate between the respective advocates for prerogative and liberty. He deems himself not unqualified for the work; for that he began early to take in characters, (short-hand writing,) speeches and passages at conferences in Parliament, and from the King's own mouth when he spake to both houses; and had been upon the stage continually, and an eye and ear witness of the greatest transactions; employed in and trusted with affairs of weightiest concernment; privy, also, both to the debates in Parliament, and to the most secret results of councils of war in times of action; which he mentions without ostentation, only to prove himself qualified to report to posterity what would rather be their wonder, at first, than their belief.

General Ludlow's Memoirs were written by him after his escape from England into Switzerland, upon the Restoration, (he having been one of the King's judges,) during his exile in that country, where he resided more than thirty years, and there died, in the year 1693, at the age of seventy-three. The preface to these memoirs describes him as descended of an ancient and worthy family originally known in Shropshire, and thence transplanted into the county of Wilts; and that his father, Sir Henry Ludlow, was chosen to represent that county, where he possessed a good estate, in the Parliament which began 3d November, 1640, being the Long Parliament. That upon his death General Ludlow succeeded him in the same representation. He is described, in the preface to a re-publication of these memoirs, as having had a learned education in the university of Oxford.

Rushworth observes, that the King, in his father's life-time, was linked to the Duke of Buckingham, and continued to receive him into an admired intimacy and dearness, making him partaker in all his counsels and cares, and chief conductor of his affairs,—an example, adds he, rare in this nation, to be the favourite of two succeeding princes.

That the public state of religion, and the steering of church-matters, had an early inspection and consultation in the cabinet council. Bishop Laud, who, in King's James's life-time, had delivered to the duke a little book about doctrinal puritanism, now also delivered to him a schedule, wherein the names of ecclesiastical persons were written under the letters O. and P., the letter O. standing for orthodox, and P. for puritans; for that the Duke had commanded that he should thus digest the names of eminent persons, to be presented to the King under that partition.

He then relates the King's marriage with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, by Mary, his second wife, who was the daughter of Francis of Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, and she (Henrietta Maria) was also the sister of Louis the Thirteenth, the then reigning king. And that she being a Roman catholic, private articles were agreed upon in favor of the papists of this kingdom, which he gives at length.

That on the 18th of June (1625), the Parliament met, when the King made a speech from the throne, in which he declares, that the main reason of calling it was to mind them of the great engagements for the recovery of the palatinate, imposed on him by the late king his father, and by themselves; also to inform them that the succeeding treaties and alliances, the armies sent into the Low Countries, the repairing of the forts, and the fortifying of Ireland, did all meet in one centre — the palatinate; and that the subsidies granted in the last parliament were therein already spent, together with as much more of the King's own revenue. He says, that all Europe being this day as the pool of Bethesda, the first stirring of the waters must be laid hold on. Therefore the King desires them to bestow this meeting on him, or rather on their actions, and that the next should be theirs, as soon and as long as they pleased, for domestic business. He then recommends supplies or subsidies, and unanimity and harmony, and attention to the King's honour and reputation.

Sir Thomas Crew, knight and serjeant at law, was chosen Speaker, who had been so in the last parliament of the late king. Various debates arose amongst them, some insisting upon the redress of grievances not redressed by the late king; others, for an account of the application of the last subsidies granted for the recovery of the palatinate; others for the putting the laws into execution against priests and jesuits, and such as resorted to ambassadors' houses, and the questioning Mr. Richard Montagu respecting his book, entitled, Appeal to Cæsar, which they alleged was contrived and published to put a jealousy between the King and his subjects, and as an encouragement to popery. Others said, that since the King began to reign, the grievances were few or none; and recommended a course to sweeten all things between the King and his people, and to express their duty to him by giving a supply, and therewith to offer nothing but a petition for religion, that religion and subsidies might go hand in hand;

and a petition concerning religion, and against popish recusants, was accordingly presented to the King.

It appears that the Commons were displeased by the King's taking the business of Montagu out of their hands, upon pretence of his being his chaplain; but to take away all occasion of disgust at the entrance of his reign, they voted him two subsidies, as the first fruits of their love. Nevertheless, Lord Conway, secretary of state, informed the Parliament, that the necessities of the present affairs were not thereby satisfied; that the late king was provoked beyond his nature to undertake a war for the recovery of his children's ancient patrimony; that the charges of this war amounted to 700,000*l.* a year. He also informed the Houses of the King's assurance of his intended real performance of every particular of their petition respecting religion.

On account of the plague in London, the Parliament was adjourned to Oxford.

During this recess, the Vantguard, the principal ship of the royal navy, and seven merchant ships of great burden and strength, were lent to the King of France, to be employed, as it afterwards appeared, in the siege of Rochel, defended by a garrison of the reformed religion, the protestants of France. The mariners refused the service, the protestants of France petitioned the King against the measure; but he persisted in it, and Pennington, the admiral of the fleet, so far obeyed the King's order, as to put his own ship, the Vantguard, into the French King's possession, and came to Oxford, where the Parliament was reassembled; but was supposed to have been there concealed until the Parliament was dissolved.

Rushworth proceeds:—The Parliament assembled at Oxford; they soon heard of the above transactions, which, he says, greatly exasperated them against the Duke of Buckingham.

The grievances insisted on were, the mis-spending of the public treasure, the neglect of guarding the seas; the Turks, in consequence, landing in the Western parts, and carrying away captive the inhabitants. The Commons appointed a committee to consider of secret affairs, and to examine the application of the three subsidies given to the late king for the recovery of the palatinate; and they prepared to assault the Duke. They also summoned the forenamed Mr. Montagu to appear before them, to answer respecting his book.

On the 4th of August, the Lords and Commons were commanded to attend the King in Christ-church-hall; when the King first addressed them in a speech of some length, and then, by his direction, two of his ministers; declaring the then present state of affairs, and enumerating the several sums that would be wanting for the exigencies of the state, to a large amount.

The Commons fell into high debates: it was asserted that the treasury was misemployed; that evil counsels guided the King's designs; that the necessities arose through imprudence; that they had need to petition the King for a strait and better counsel to manage his affairs; and that it was not usual to grant subsidies upon subsidies in one parliament, and no grievances redressed. There were many reflections upon the Duke of Buckingham's miscarriages, and respecting Montagu. They at length resolved, that religion should have the first place in these debates; and, next, the kingdom's safety; and then, supplies: and many grievances were insisted on and enumerated; and that the government of the present affairs, and to look into the King's estate, were necessary, the doing which, they agreed, was no capitulation with His Majesty, but an ordinary parliamentary course, without which the commonwealth could never supply the King, nor indeed subsist.

In the further debate upon the desired further supply, it was replied to those who pressed it, that necessity was a dangerous counsellor, and was a continual argument for supplies in all parliaments; that those counsellors who had put the King and kingdom into such a necessity and hazard, ought to answer for it, whosoever they might be; that if the state of things would not admit of a redress of grievances, surely there was not so much occasion for money; that to give subsidy upon subsidy in one parliament, was not usual. In conclusion, a declaration was proposed, and assented to without a negative, — That they, the Commons of this realm, abundantly comforted in his Majesty's late gracious answer touching religion, and his message for the care of their health, did solemnly protest and vow, that they were all resolved, and would ever continue most loyal and obedient subjects, and would be ready in convenient time, and in a parliamentary way, freely and dutifully to do their utmost endeavours to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of the state, and also to afford all necessary supply to His Majesty, upon his present and all other his just occasions and designs. Beseeching his Majesty to rest assured of their true and hearty affections, and to esteem the same to be the greatest worldly reputation and security that a just king can have; and to account all such as slanderers of the people's affections, and enemies to the commonwealth, that should dare to say to the contrary.

Notwithstanding this declaration, the King, says Rushworth, perceiving the House resolved against supply, without redress of grievances; and in their debates to reflect upon some great persons near him, dissolved the Parliament on the 12th August, 1625.

Mr. May, in the introduction to his History of the nearly three first years of the Long Parliament, (after giving a short sketch of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,) describes King James as a wise and learned prince, of disposition merciful and gracious, excellently grounded in that religion which he professed, a prince of whom England conceived wonderful hope, and received with great joy and triumph. But that he did not begin where his predecessor left, proceeding rather in a contrary way: "Of the reasons for which," says he, (Mr. May,) "I will not presume to deliver my opinion."

He (Mr. May) then refers to the same King's peace with Spain, at the beginning of his reign, which had been brought very low by Queen Elizabeth, and had been nearer to ruin, in all probability, had she lived a few years longer; that the estates of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, those useful confederates to England, began to be despised by the English court, under a vain shadow, instead of a reason, that they were an ill example for a monarch to cherish; that then began secret treaties to pass betwixt Rome and the court of England; care to be taken about reconciliation of religions; the rigour of penal laws against the Papists (notwithstanding that odious plot of the gunpowder treason) was abated; the pomp of prelacy and multitude of ceremonies encreased daily in the Church of England; and according to that, were all civil affairs managed, both at home and abroad.

Neither (continues the same writer) was it easy for the King (James) to turn himself out of that way, when he was entered into it; so that at last the Papists began by degrees to be admitted nearer to him, in service and conversation. That he was exceedingly desirous to match the Prince, his son, to the Infanta of Spain; about which many and long treaties passed, wherein not only the Spaniard, but the Pope, made many present advantages of the King's earnest desires, and many ways deluded him, as it appeared plainly by his own letters to his ambassadors there, since then found and published.

That thus the King was by degrees brought, not only to forsake but to oppose his own interest both in civil and religious affairs: and that from thence flowed a further mischief; for that the King (being loth, perchance, that the whole people should take notice of those ways in which he trod) grew extremely disaffected to parliaments, calling them for nothing but to supply his expenses, dissolving them when they began to meddle with state-affairs, and divers times imprisoning the members for speeches made in parliament, against the fundamental privileges of that high court.

That Parliaments being thus despised and abused, projects against the laws were found out to supply the King's Expenses, which were not small; and the King (whether to avoid the envy of those things, or the trouble of them) did in a manner put off all business of government from himself, into the hands of a young favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, whom he had raised from a knight's fourth son to that great height, and entrusted him with the chief offices of the kingdom; besides the great power which he had, by that extraordinary favour of conferring all places and preferments, both in church and state.

The Duke, (continues Mr. May,) not long before the death of King James, was grown into extraordinary favour and intireness with the Prince, whom he afterwards swayed no less than he had before his father, like an unhappy vapour exhaled from the earth to so great an height, as to cloud not only the setting but the rising sun.

King Charles, (continues the same writer,) with great hopes and expectations of his people, and no less high expressions of love and duty from all in general, began his reign. That they wondered to see him suddenly linked in such an entire friendship with the Duke of Buckingham; for that extraordinary favourites do usually eclipse and much depress the heir-apparent of a crown, or else they are conceived so to do; and, upon that reason, hated and ruined by the succeeding prince. In which kind all ancient and modern stories are full of examples.

The King was most unfortunate in retaining, as his favourites and advisers, the Duke of Buckingham and Bishop Laud, of whose unfitness for his counsellors it is enough to find them capable of poisoning his mind, at the very outset of his reign, against a large portion of his subjects, by delivering, as before related, the schedule or list, invidiously dividing them into two classes, orthodox and puritan; thus prejudicing his young and inexperienced mind against all those that had opposed his father's arbitrary measures, and that were likely to oppose the same measures in the new reign, should they be continued.

His (the King's) marriage with a Roman Catholic, and his indulgence of those of that religion, by his engagements upon his marriage in their favor, appear to have created in the nation apprehensions of their increasing influence through her.

Mr. May says, that the King's protection of the Duke of Buckingham against the Parliament occasioned the dissolution of that Parliament, after two subsidies had been given, and before the kingdom had received relief in any one grievance.

This dissolution, says Rushworth, having stopped the act of subsidies, the King endeavoured to draw supplies from the people by forced loans; and those who refused to lend were summoned before the Council, and many committed to prison, or otherwse punished.

Nevertheless, that, being pressed by his necessities, and the cry of the nation against grievances, he found himself under a necessity of summoning a second Parliament, which met on the 6th of February in the same year (1625), and about the same time determined upon the celebration of his coronation; previous to which he compelled many persons, of certain qualifications, to receive the order of knighthood, which raised a large sum of money, but caused much discontent.

Sir Heneage Finch was chosen Speaker. The Commons proceeded to consider of grievances, which they enumerated, and, amongst others, of their charge against the Duke of Buckingham; for the ground whereof Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Lord Strafford), Mr. Noy (afterwards Attorney-General), and others, were of opinion that common fame was sufficient; and the House accordingly so resolved, and then voted a supply of three subsidies and three fifteens, the act for which to be brought in, as soon as grievances should be redressed.

The King endeavoured to protect the Duke of Buckingham against this charge, telling the Commons that he would not allow any of his servants to be questioned amongst them. He vindicates the Duke; and adds, that the proceedings against him did directly wound the honour and judgment of himself and of his late father.

Some strong proceedings about this time also ensued between the King and the House of Lords, who claimed the release of the Earl of Arundel from his imprisonment in the Tower of London by the King's order, in the time of parliament; the Lords deeming it a high breach of privilege: but the firm determined conduct of the House obliged the King to release him, and permit his return to parliament.

This (second) parliament was suddenly dissolved by the King in great displeasure, on the 15th June (1626) following its commencement.

The King then proceeded, in various ways, by forced loans, benevolencies, compositions with Popish recusants, and otherwise, to raise supplies from his subjects. Many refused to subscribe to the loans, and the refusers of high rank were bound over by recognisance to appear at the council-table; and many of them were committed to prison, and the common sort were enrolled in different companies of soldiers. Amongst the refusers of high rank were Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Harbottle Grimston. Rushworth says, that those gentlemen who stood committed for refusal to contribute to the loans, were appointed to several confinements out of their own counties; several of whom he names, and, amongst others, the fore-mentioned Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford), and Sir Harbottle Grimston; and that many of them were afterwards sent for, and committed to several prisons.

Rushworth adds, that Dr. Sibthorpe and Dr. Mainwaring, in their sermons in support and advancement of the loans, openly and explicitly declared in favour of the subjects' obligation to passive obedience and non-resistance; and, instancing the case of a sovereign's command against the laws of God, or of nature, or of an impossibility, he, Dr. Sibthorpe, says, here the subject must patiently undergo the punishment of disobedience, and so yield a passive, where they cannot yield an active, obedience. That the King's command in imposing loans and taxes, without consent of Parliament, did oblige the subjects' conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. And they advance, in these sermons, several other equally high and offensive doctrines, more fully mentioned in Rushworth. Dr. Mainwaring, continues Rushworth, preached two of these sermons before the King. All these sermons were licensed by the Bishop of London (Laud), and for which, there is no reason to doubt, both of them were soon afterwards preferred by the King; and Dr. Montague, for his Appello Cæsarem, which had been censured by the Commons, and called in by the King's proclamation, was appointed Bishop of Chichester.

Rushworth adds, that about this time it was discovered that the King was providing, by payment of a large sum of money, for the bringing to England a considerable body of German troops, which, upon its discovery, was otherwise disposed of.

The difficulty of obtaining money by loans and otherwise, without the assistance of parliament, obliged the King to call (a third) parliament, which met on the 17th March (1627).

Sir John Finch was chosen Speaker. The Commons immediately entered upon grievances, and were not disposed to grant supplies until they should be redressed. Some of these grievances were the billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy seal, and the imprisoning certain gentlemen who refused to lend upon that account, who, afterwards bringing their *habeas corpus*, were notwithstanding remanded to prison. The violations of the liberties of the people, since the end of the last session, were taken into consideration by the Commons, who also, in the course of their debates concerning religion, entered into a vow, declaratory of their belief in the articles of religion of Queen Elizabeth, and their rejection of the Jesuits and Arminians, and of all others differing from these articles.

Upon the subject of grievances, Sir Francis Seymour (says Rushworth) first spoke.—This, says he, is the great council of the kingdom, and here (if not here alone) His Majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by His Majesty's writs to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour; but this we must do without flattery. We are sent here by the Commons to discharge that trust reposed in us, by delivering up their just grievances, and this we must do without fear. For my own part, I shall shun both these, and speak my conscience with as much duty to His Majesty as any man; but not neglecting the public, in which His Majesty and the commonwealth have an interest. But how can we show our affections, while we retain our fears? Or how can we think of giving subsidies, till we know whether we have any thing to give? For if His Majesty be persuaded by any to take from his subjects what he will, and where it pleaseth him, I would gladly know what we have to give? It is true, it is ill with those subjects that shall give laws to their princes, and as ill with those princes who shall use force with those laws: that this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers; a thing no way advantageous to His Majesty's service, but a burthen to the commonwealth. This also appeareth by the last levy of money against an act of parliament: and, referring to the illegality of the loans, and to the imprisonment of divers gentlemen on those accounts, he says,—To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in our pulpits, that all we have is the King's: *jure divino*, say these time-servers: they forsake their own function, and turn ignorant statesmen. We see how easy it is for a prince, how just and good soever, to be abused, in regard he must see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears. In another place, he says, when against a parliamentary law, the subject shall have taken from him his goods against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the land, shall it be accounted want of duty in us to stand upon our privileges, hereditary to us, and confirmed by so many acts of parliament?

Sir Thomas Wentworth followed.—This debate, says he, carries a double aspect towards the sovereign and the subject; though both be innocent, both are injured, and both to be cured. Surely, (in the greatest humility I speak it,) these illegal ways are punishments and marks of indignation: the raising of loans, strengthened by commission, with unheard-of instructions and oaths, the billeting of soldiers by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, have been as if they could have persuaded Christian princes, yea, worlds, that the right of empires had been, to take away by strong hands; and they have endeavoured, as far as possible for them, to do it. This hath not been done by the King, (under the pleasing shade of whose crown I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice,) but by projectors, who have extended the prerogative of the King beyond the just symmetry which maketh a sweet harmony of the whole. They have brought the crown into greater want than ever, by anticipating the revenues: and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a privy-council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government; imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us—what shall I say? (indeed, what have they left us?)—all means of supplying the King, and ingratiating ourselves with him; taking up the root of all property, which, if it be not seasonably set again into the ground by His Majesty's own hands, we shall have, instead of beauty, baldness. To the making of those whole I shall apply myself, and propound a remedy to all these diseases. By one and the same thing have King and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. To vindicate, what? new things? No; our ancient vital liberties: by reinforcing our ancient laws made by our ancestors; by setting forth such a character of them as no licentious spirit shall dare to enter upon them. And shall we think this is a way to break a parliament? No: our desires are modest and just. I speak truly, both for the interest of King and people: if we enjoy not these, it will be impossible for us to relieve them; therefore, let us never fear they shall not be accepted by his goodness: wherefore I shall shortly descend to my motions, consisting of four parts; two of which have relation to our persons, two to the propriety of our goods. For our persons;—first, the freedom of them from imprisonment; secondly, from employment abroad, contrary to the ancient customs. For our goods;—that no levies be made but by parliament: secondly, no billeting of soldiers. It is most necessary that these be resolved, that the subject may be secured in both.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard stood up as moderator. — This, says he, is the crisis of parliaments; we shall know by this if parliaments live or die. It is fit we be wise: His Majesty begins to us with affection, proclaiming that he will rely on his people's love. Preservation is natural: we are not now on the *bene esse*, but on the *esse*. Be sure England is ours, and then prune it. Is it no small matter that we had provoked two most potent kings? We have united them, and have betrayed ourselves more than our enemies could. Men and brethren, what shall we do? Is there no balm in Gilead? If the King draw one way, the Parliament another, we must all sink. I desire the House to avoid all contestations: the hearts of kings are great: it is comely that kings have the better of their subjects. Give the King leave to come off. I believe His Majesty expects but the occasion: it is lawful, and it is our duty to advise His Majesty; but the way is, to take a right course to attain the right end, which I think may be thus: by trusting the King, and to breed a trust in him; by giving him a large supply, according to his wants; by prostrating our grievances humbly at his feet, from thence they will have the best way to his heart: that is done in duty to His Majesty. Let us all labour to get the King on our side; and this may be no hard matter, considering the near subsistence between the King and his people.

Sir Edward Coke.—I am absolutely to give supply to His Majesty, yet with some caution. To tell you of foreign dangers and inbred evils, I will not do it: the state is declining to a consumption, yet not incurable. I fear not foreign enemies, God send us peace at home! For this disease I will propound remedies: I will seek nothing out of mine own head; but from my heart, and out of acts of parliament. I am not able to fly at all grievances, but only at loans. Let us not flatter ourselves: who will give subsidies, if the King may impose what he will, and if, after parliament, the King may inhance what he pleaseth? I know the King will not do it: I know he is a religious King, free from personal vices; but he deals with other men's hands, and sees with other men's eyes. Will any give a subsidy, that may be taxed after parliament at pleasure? The King cannot tax any by way of loans. I differ from those who would have this of loans go amongst grievances: I would have it go alone. Loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land, and they desire restitution. What a word is that franchise! The lord may tax his villein high or low; but it is against the franchise of the land for freèmen to be taxed, but by their consent in parliament. Franchise is a French word, and in Latin it is *libertas*. In *Magna Charta* it is provided, that *nullus liber homo capiatur, vel impri-*

sonetur aut disseisietur de libero tenemento suo, &c. nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ; which charter hath been confirmed by good kings above thirty times.

Sir John Cook, Secretary of State, on behalf of the King. — He was for redress of grievances, so as supplies took the precedency. His desire was to re-unite the King and the state. He allowed that illegal courses had been taken, and that the redress must be by laws and punishments. But this day, and the two next, says Rushworth, produced no resolution; the time being spent in a general opening of grievances from all parts of the kingdom.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, speaking upon certain propositions sent by the King to the Houses, said, — I cannot forget that duty I owe to my country; and, unless we be secured in our liberties, we cannot give. I speak not this to make diversions, but to the end that, giving, I may give cheerfully. As to the propositions to be considered of, I incline to decline them, and to look upon the state of our country, whether it be fit to give or no. Are we come to an end for our country's liberties? Have we trenched on the rates of the deputy-lieutenants? Are we secured for time future? — And the House waving the debate of the propositions, and proceeding with grievances by confinement and designation for foreign employment, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, — If any man owes a man a displeasure, and shall procure him to be put into foreign employment, it will be a matter of high concernment to the subject. We know the honour and justice of the King; but we know not what his ministers, or the mediation of ambassadors may do, to work their own wrath. Upon the subject of the supply, he proposed a middle way; namely, that when we set down the time, we be sure the subjects' liberties go hand in hand together. Then to resolve of the time, but not report it to the House till we have a ground, and a bill for our liberties. This is the way to come off fairly, and to prevent jealousies.

The King, wishing the House to rest on his royal word for the performance of those things that were intended to be inserted in the petition of right then in contemplation, Sir Thomas Wentworth concluded the debate thereon. — That never House of parliament trusted more in the goodness of their king for their own private, than the present; but we are ambitious that His Majesty's goodness may remain to posterity, and we are accountable to a public trust; and therefore, seeing there hath been a public violation of the laws by his ministers, nothing will satisfy him (Sir Thomas) but a public amends: and our desire to vindicate the subjects' right by bill, is no more than are laid down in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution. Which, says Rushworth, so well agreed with the sense of the House, that they made it the subject of a message to be delivered by the Speaker to His Majesty.

In this debate, some were for letting the petition of right rest upon a reliance on the King's word; but Sir Edward Coke's reasons to the contrary, prevailed. — Was it ever known, said he, that general words were a sufficient satisfaction to particular grievances? When grievances be, the Parliament was to redress them. Did ever Parliament rely on messages? They put up petitions of their grievances, and the King answered them: the King's answer was very gracious; but what was the law of the realm, — that was the question? That he put no diffidence in His Majesty: the King must speak by a record and in particulars, and not in generals. Did they ever know the King's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding kings would say, Ye must trust me, as well as you did my predecessors, and trust my messages; but messages of love never came into a parliament. Let us put up a petition of right: not that I distrust the King, but that we cannot take his trust, but in a parliamentary way.

On Thursday, the 8th of May, the petition of right was finished by the Commons. And then they fixed the time for payment of the supplies.

Upon debate of a letter from the King, endeavouring to render unnecessary the petition of right, Sir Thomas Wentworth said it was a letter of grace, but that the people would only like of that which should be done in a parliamentary way; besides that the debate of it would spend much time, neither was it directed to the House of Commons; and that the petition of right would clear all mistakes. For, said he, some give out as if the House went about to pinch the King's prerogative. The further debate of this letter occupied several days.

The Lords propounded, at a conference, the following addition to be made to the petition:—"We present this our humble petition to Your Majesty, with the care, not only of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith Your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people."

In the debate upon this proposed addition, several members expressed their disapprobation, and, amongst others, Sir Thomas Wentworth. If, says he, we do admit of this addition, we shall leave the subject worse than we found him, and we shall have little thanks for our labour when we come home. Let us leave all power to His Majesty to punish malefactors; but these laws are not acquainted with sovereign power. We desire no new thing; nor do we offer to trench upon His Majesty's prerogative: we may not recede from this petition, either in part, or in whole. To add a saving is not safe: doubtful words may beget ill construction; and the words are not only doubtful words, but words unknown to us, and never used in any act or petition before.

At a conference of the Lords and Commons, 26th of same May, the Lord Keeper declared that the Lords had unanimously agreed with the Commons, *in omnibus*, and had voted that they would join with them in their petition of right. And, says Rushworth, the Lords and Commons being happily accorded, the petition was read in the House two several times together. Then it was voted upon question, and that it should be engrossed and read the third time, and the House to sit in the afternoon till it should be engrossed and read, and ordered to be presented to the King; to which there was not a negative voice. And on the 28th of the same month it was agreed, at a conference upon the manner of its delivery, that no addition or preface be used to the King, but that it be preferred to His Majesty by command of the Lords and Commons, and that His Majesty be desired, that, to the content of his people, he would be pleased to give his gracious answer in Parliament.

The King came to the House, 2d June. He said he came to perform his duty. He thought none could think it long, since he had not taken so many days in answering the petition, as they had spent weeks in framing it. That he came thither to show them, that, as well in formal things as in essential, he desired to give them as much content as in him lay. After a short speech by the Lord Keeper, the petition was read. The King's answer was: — The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties: to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.

On Tuesday, 3d June, the King's answer was read in the House of Commons, and seemed too scant, in regard of so much expense of time and labour as had been employed in preparing the petition.

At length the King gave this answer to the petition, "*Soit droit fait come il est desiré,*" with which both Houses were perfectly satisfied; and ordered that the grand committees for religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice, should sit no longer; but that the House of Commons proceed only in the consideration of grievances of most moment.

They then took into consideration the grievances of the nation, and prepared, and presented to the King a remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham, as the grand cause of them.

The King, being displeased with the Parliament's proceedings, came suddenly to the House, and ended the sessions, and prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of October then next. It was afterwards prorogued to the 20th January following. Subsequently to which, Rushworth states many transactions, and, amongst others, the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton.

On the above 20th January (1628), the Parliament re-assembled. They took into consideration the violation of the people's liberties since the end of the last sessions, contrary to the petition of right, several instances whereof were given.

In a question upon a point of privilege, on the commissioners of the customs taking the goods of Mr. Rolles, a member of the House, under, as they alleged, a commission under the Great Seal and warrants, in the apprehension that his privilege did not extend beyond his person, Mr. Selden said, If there be any near the King that doth misrepresent our actions, let the curse light on them, not on us; and believe it, it is high time to vindicate ourselves in this case, else it is in vain for us to sit here. And it was resolved that the privilege extended to goods as well as person.

The Speaker having refused to put a question proposed to the House, alleging that he was so commanded by the King, was severely reprimanded by Mr. Selden. The House, in heat, adjourned to the Wednesday next, when they were again adjourned to Monday, the 2d of March, when the House again urging the Speaker, he still refused, alleging the King's command to put no question, and to adjourn to the 10th of the same month; whereupon he was held in the chair by some of the members (the House foreseeing a dissolution), till the House came to the following resolutions: —That whosoever should bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend, or introduce, popery or arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the truth and orthodox church, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. That whosoever should advise the taking and levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not granted by Parliament, or should be an actor or instrument therein, should be reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom. Any merchant or person, voluntarily yielding or paying the same, to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England.

Hereupon the King sent for the serjeant of the House, but he was detained, the door being locked; he then sent the gentleman-usher of the Lords' House, who was refused admittance till these resolutions were read; and then, in much confusion, the House was adjourned to the 10th of March, 1628.

On that day the King dissolved the Parliament, in a speech addressed to the Lords, (the Commons not being called,) imputing the necessity of this measure to the undutiful and seditious carriage of the Commons.

The day following, warrants were directed from the council to Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Valentine, commanding their personal appearance on the morrow. Mr. Holles, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, appearing, and refusing to answer, out of Parliament, what was said and done in Parliament, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and warrants were given for the sealing up of the studies of Mr. Holles, Mr. Selden, and Sir John Elliot. Mr. Long and Mr. Stroud, not then, nor some time after appearing, a proclamation was issued for the apprehending of them.

Mr. May mentions the grant of the petition of right to have been to the great rejoicing of the people. But he adds, that it proved immediately to be no relief to them; for that, the parliament dissolved, the King acted over the same things which formerly he had done; and that grant, says he, instead of fortifying the kingdom's liberty, made it appear to be more defenceless than before, seeing that laws themselves were no bar against the King's will, which he instances in the forced loans; imprisonment for their non-payment; the raising of money by privy seals; commission for squeezing the subject by way of excise; billeting soldiers, and the design to enslave the nation by a force of German horse, and many other things of the like nature. That the affairs of state which concerned confederates abroad, had been managed with as much disadvantage and infelicity to them, as dishonour to the English nation, and prejudice to the cause of religion itself. That peace was made with Spain without consent of parliament, by which all hope was utterly lost of re-establishing the King's nearest kindred in their just dominion, and the protestant religion much weakened in Germany. What counsels (continues Mr. May) had then influence upon the court of England, might be the amazement of a wise man to consider; and the plain truth must needs seem a paradox to posterity, as that the protestant religion, both at home and abroad, should suffer much by the government of two kings, of whom the former in his own person wrote more learnedly in defence of it, and the latter in his own person lived more conformably to the rules of it, than any of their contemporary princes in Europe. But, says he, the civil affairs of state were too ill managed to protect, or, at least, to propagate, true religion; or else the neglect of religion was the cause that civil affairs were blessed with no more honour and prosperity. That the right ways of Queen Elizabeth, who advanced both, had been long ago forsaken, and the deviation grew daily further and more fatal to the kingdom, which appeared in a direct contrariety to all particulars of her reign. Titles of honour were made more honourable by her, in being conferred sparingly, and therefore, probably, upon great desert; which afterwards were become of less esteem, by being not only too frequently conferred, but put to open sale, and made too often the purchase of mechanics, or the reward of vicious persons. That at the death of the duke, the people were possessed of an unusual joy, which they openly testified by such expressions as, indeed, were not thought fit or decent by wise men, upon so tragical and sad an accident. That these joys and hopes lasted not long; for in the same year, after the duke's death, another (the third) parliament was dissolved, and then the privileges of that high court were more broken than ever before. Referring to the imprisonment and fining of the forenamed members of the House of Commons for matters done in parliament, he (Mr. May) adds, that the people from that time were deprived of the hope of parliament, and all things so managed by public officers, as if never such a day of account were to come. He then enumerates some of the chief grievances of the subject, likewise some vices of the nation in general, (that the reader might the better judge of the causes of succeeding troubles,) during the space of seven or eight years after the dissolution of that parliament, and then gives some account of the several dispositions of the people of England,

and their different censures of the King's government during those years.

Lord Clarendon begins his history with the mention of King James's death. Leaving, he says, his son, King Charles, engaged in a war with Spain, but unprovided with money to manage it, though it was undertaken with the consent and advice of Parliament; the people being naturally enough inclined to the war, (having been surfeited with the uninterrupted pleasures and plenty of twenty-two years' peace, and sufficiently inflamed against the Spaniards,) but quickly weary of the charge of it. And that, therefore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt, in a voyage by sea, upon Cadiz, and an unsuccessful and more unfortunate one upon France, at the isle of Rhee, (for that some difference had likewise, about this same time, begotten a war with that prince,) a general peace was shortly concluded with both kingdoms. The exchequer being so exhausted with the debts of King James, the bounty of His Majesty that then was, (who, upon his first access to the crown, gave many costly instances of his favour to many persons near him,) and the charge of the war upon Spain and France, that, both the known and casual revenue being anticipated, the necessary subsistence of the household was unprovided for; and the King, on the sudden, driven to those streights for his own support, that many ways were resorted to, and inconveniences submitted to, for supply, — as selling the crown-lands; creating peers for money; and many other particulars, which no access of power or plenty since could repair.

His Lordship, referring to the dissolution of these three first parliaments, attributes the people's apprehension of the future discontinuance of parliaments, and that no more would be held, to the King's prohibition, at the dissolution of the last of them, of his subjects to prescribe any time to him for parliaments, or to speak thereof; and censures in strong terms those unreasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions. The King and his people, says he, parting at those sad seasons, with no other respect and charity one towards the other than persons who never meant to meet but in their own defence; in which the King had always the disadvantage to harbour those about him who, with their utmost industry, false information, and malice, improved the faults and infirmities of the court to the people, and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the people suspected, if not odious, to the King. He expresses his surprise at those counsels which persuaded to the courses then taken, the habits and tempers of men's minds being at that time well disposed to the public aids, which were only discredited by the jealousies entertained by the people, from the manner of the prosecution thereof, that they were other and worse than in truth they were.

He does not deny, that there were, in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But that he was not aware of any formed act of either house, (for that neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon those extraordinary occasions; and that whoever considered the acts of power, and injustice of some of the ministers in those intervals of parliament, would not be much scandalised at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings. He describes the intended grant of five subsidies in the second parliament, (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures then every day imposed,) as a proportion greater than ever before granted; and adds, that that meeting having been, upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons, immediately dissolved, those subsidies were exacted throughout the kingdom with the same rigour as if they had been granted by act of parliament,—referring to the imprisonment of divers gentlemen (as he describes them) of prime quality. And could it, he adds, be imagined, that those men would meet again in a free convention of parliament, without a sharp expostulation and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed thereon? And yet, that all those provocations, and many others, almost of as large an extent, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, (of no prejudice to the crown,) which was likewise purchased at the price of five subsidies more; and that, in a very short time after the supply granted, that parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion, dissolved.

His Lordship imputes the abrupt and unkind breaking off of the two first parliaments to the Duke of Buckingham, and of the third, principally to the Lord Weston, then lord high treasurer of England; and that, at a time when some accusations were ready to be preferred against them. He then describes the duke's rapid rise upon the fall of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the late King's former favourite. That the Duke disposed of all the graces of the King, in conferring all the honours, and all the offices of the three kingdoms, without a rival; in dispensing whereof he was guided more by the rules of appetite than of judgment, and so exalted almost all his own numerous family and dependants, whose greatest merit was their alliance to him, and which equally offended the ancient nobility and the people of all conditions, who saw the flowers of the crown every day fading and withered, whilst the demesnes and revenue thereof were sacrificed to the enriching a private family scarce ever heard of before in the nation; and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befel the crown, almost to the ruin of it. He adds, that his greatness was owing to no other advantage or recommendation than the beauty and gracefulness of his person; and that King James, of all wise men living, was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons and fine clothes.

Referring to grievances, he says, that, at every dissolution, such as had given any offence were imprisoned or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supplies to the King's occasions, yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint; and many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage, were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money by those extraordinary ways. That supplemental acts of state were, in the absence of parliament, made to supply defects of law; obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed. That the King received a vast sum of money upon the law of knighthood, which, though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; and finally, for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, ship-money, which was afterwards disputed by Mr. Hampden. His Lordship then refers to the proceedings of the Council-table and Star-chamber, in enlarging their jurisdictions to a vast extent, holding for honourable, that which pleased, and for just, that which profited; the Council-table, by proclamation, enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonments; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed. And that the damage and mischief to the crown and state were inexpressible, from the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by the use made of them in this (ship-money) and like acts of power, there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocence of the judges.

CHAPTER II.

THE KING'S CORONATION IN SCOTLAND.—PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK OF SPORTS.—REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND BEGUN.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE STAR-CHAMBER AGAINST MR. PRYNN.—ALSO AGAINST DRS. BASTWICK AND BURTON, AND THEIR SENTENCES.—MR. HAMPDEN'S CASE OF SHIP-MONEY, AND JUDGMENT AGAINST HIM.—ARTICLES OF CONCILIATION BETWEEN THE KING AND SCOTLAND.—FOURTH PARLIAMENT.—PETITIONS OF GRIEVANCES.—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.—FORCED LOANS ATTEMPTED.—SCOTCH COMMENCE HOSTILITIES.—SEIZURE OF THE BULLION IN THE MINT.—THE ENGLISH ARMY DEFEATED BY THE SCOTS.—GREAT COUNCIL OF PEERS AT YORK.—TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.

In the following April (1629) Laud, Bishop of London, was elected by the university of Oxford its chancellor, on the death of the Earl of Pembroke.

The King prosecuted in the Star-chamber, with great severity, the committed members of the House of Commons. Rushworth observes, that the discontents of the common people, upon this dissolution of parliament, were heightened against the powerful men of the court, and the King's most inward counsellors, Laud, and the Lord-treasurer Weston.

The King wanting money, adopted various illegal, violent means to procure it.

The bishop says in his diary, in part given by Rushworth, that he had a serious offer again made him to be a cardinal, with which he had acquainted the King, but that somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is. He adds, that he was translated, September 19, to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.

Rushworth relates the King's coronation in Scotland, and the archbishop's haughty behaviour upon that occasion. The King then began to interfere with his subjects of Scotland upon the subject of religion, and hastily, and in great heat, dissolved their parliament, and returns to England.

In 1633 the book of sports was published, and the King's declaration, allowing certain sports and pastimes on Sundays after evening prayers, and enjoining the bishops of the several dioceses to constrain the papists and puritans to conform thereto, or leave the country. The effects of the declaration, Rushworth observes, were, that many ministers who were very conformable to the church of England, refusing to read the declaration publicly in their churches, were suspended, and others silenced from preaching. Whitelock observes, that this proceeding was not very pleasing to many who were no puritans.

The archbishop having advised the King to a reformation in the church of Scotland, began with the royal chapel there, in certain articles sent in His Majesty's name, with a letter to command obedience. This was declared to be for a pattern of the intended reformation, to all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in Scotland. He procured the King's signature to a common prayer-book for the use of the church of Scotland, and ordered the bishops of Scotland to compile certain canons for its government, which were to be imposed by regal and episcopal authority, without the consent of the Scots' parliament, or of a general assembly.

Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, (late Sir Thomas Wentworth, and who was now gone over to the King's party,) lord-deputy of Ireland, advises the King concerning a parliament in Ireland, and the immediate appointment of a committee, to consider all the bills intended in a parliament to have been called in Lord Falkland's time; such as should be beneficial to make them ready, and such as might be prejudicial to the crown to be laid aside. This might be quickened, or otherwise, as the Parliament should proceed warmer or cooler in His Majesty's supplies. That he would endeavour the lower house should be so composed, as that neither the recusants, nor the protestants, should appear considerably more one than the other, holding them as much as might be upon equal balance, for they would prove thus easier to govern than if either party were absolute. Then would I, says he, in private discourse show the recusant, that the contribution ending in December then next, if the army were not supplied some other way before, of the twelve pence a Sunday, must of necessity be exacted upon them. I would show the protestant, that Your Majesty must not let go the 20,000l. contribution, nor yet discontent the other in matters of religion, till the army were some way else certainly provided for; and convince them both, that the present quarterly payments were not so burthensome as they pretended them to be, and that by the graces, they have had already more benefit than their money came to: thus poising one by the other, which, single, might prove more unhappy to deal with. That he would endeavour to make as many captains and officers burgesses as possible, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may almost sway the business betwixt the two parties which way they please. That in the higher house His Majesty, he trusted, would have the bishops wholly for him. That the titular lords, rather than come over themselves, would put their proxies into such safe hands as might be thought of; and that in the rest, His Majesty had such an interest from duty to the crown, and obnoxiousness in themselves, that he did not apprehend any difficulty with them.

Rushworth then gives the proceedings in the Star-chamber against William Prynn, Esq. and others, for a libel, entitled Histrio-Mastix, against plays, masks, dancing, &c. knowing that the queen, lords of the council, and others, were present at these amusements. They were found guilty, and the book condemned to be burnt; Mr. Prynn to be degraded from his profession of a barrister; and otherwise, to stand in the pillory twice; to lose both his ears, and to pay a fine of 5000l. to the king, and perpetual imprisonment.

At a subsequent time Mr. Prynn was again prosecuted for libels, and also Dr. Bastwick and Dr. Burton, when they were heavily fined, and Mr. Prynn sentenced to lose the remainder, if any, of his ears; and the others to lose their ears.

Money being still wanted, ship-money was advised, and writs were issued, directing the providing of ships for the navy, and assessing certain sums in lieu of the ships that should not be so provided, to be paid to the treasurer of the navy.

Rushworth then mentions the archbishop's project for imposing the English liturgy and discipline upon the English companies, and upon the regiments in foreign parts, and upon the companies of merchants residing there, and upon the churches of foreigners residing in England. The archbishop, in opposition to all the remonstrances of these foreigners, persisted in the measure, by which the foreign churches were molested and disquieted several years together, and some of their ministers, and many of their congregations, deserted the kingdom. Also an information in the Star-chamber against a considerable number of persons of quality for residing in town, contrary to the King's proclamation.

In the first year of this reign, he says, no hackney-coaches stood in the street, but at their stables, and they were sent to, to come abroad by those who had occasion for them; and there were not more than twenty of these coaches. The judges constantly rode on horseback in all weathers. The lawyers pleaded in ruffs; falling bands came afterwards in fashion.

That the enforcement of the service-book of common prayer upon Scotland was pursued by the archbishop with great vehemence, and as strongly resisted. And gives a particular narrative of the proceedings.

In 1637, Mr. Hampden's case of ship-money was argued before all the judges. Mr. Hampden had refused to pay the tax laid upon him towards finding a ship of war; but, upon the opinion of a majority of the judges, judgment was given against him for twenty shillings, the amount of his assessment.

Judge Croke, Whitelock says, resolved to deliver his opinion for the King, and accordingly had prepared his argument; but a few days before, upon discourse with some of his nearest relations, and most serious thoughts thereon, and being heartened by his lady, who was a very good and pious woman, and who requested him to do nothing against his conscience, from fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family, assuring him that she would be contented to suffer want, or any misery with him, rather than be an occasion for him to do or say any thing against his judgment and his conscience; he suddenly altered his purposes and arguments; and, contrary to expectation, argued and declared his opinion against the King.

The archbishop, in his diary of 1638, observes, that the tumults in Scotland about the service-book had continued increasing, and had brought that kingdom in danger.

The King, by a circular letter, dated 26th January, 1638, referring to the disturbed state of Scotland, and stating that many of the people had been seduced by ill-designing persons, and that great and considerable forces were raised and assembled in such sort, as he had reason to take into consideration the defence and safety of the realm of England. — And that he had directed a considerable army to be forthwith levied, with which he had determined to repair to the northern parts of his realm, to make resistance against any invasion that might happen. — He requires the nobility to attend him and his standard at the city of York, on the first of April then next, in such equipage, and with such forces of horse, as their birth and interest in the public safety obliged them unto. And the archbishop wrote to the clergy to prevail on them to contribute freely to the war.

This dispute, says Whitelock, with Scotland, was the fountain from whence our ensuing troubles did spring.

The King consented to the petition of the Scotch to appoint some few persons about him to hear their humble desires, and to make known to them his pleasure, so that all mis-statings might be speedily removed, and the kingdom kept in peace and happiness; and meetings were accordingly had, and articles finally agreed on, which His Majesty and the Scotch deputies signed on Tuesday, June 18., and, a few days afterwards, both armies were disbanded.

This year (1640), says Rushworth, begins with warlike preparations for a second expedition against the Scots. The Irish Parliament gave to the King four subsidies towards the war, and a promise of a larger supply, if found necessary.

Sir John Finch, lord-keeper of the great seal, was created Lord Finch of Fordwich, in the county of Kent. And on Monday the 13th of April the fourth parliament met at Westminster. Then follow, in Rushworth, the names of the members of the House of Commons, and the places they represented, amounting in number to 502. The King came to the House, and spoke as follows:—That never was there a king that had a greater and more weighty cause to call his people together than himself. That he would not trouble them with the particulars, having instructed the Lord-keeper to address them; who, in a most flattering speech to the King, and sufficiently humiliating to the two Houses, amongst other expressions of a similar nature, observes, that His Majesty's kingly resolutions are seated in the ark of his sacred breast, and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzzah, uncalled, to touch it; yet that His Majesty was then pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phæton, that the distance between sovereignty and subjection should not bar them of that filial freedom of access to his person and counsels; only let us beware how, with the son of Clymene, we aim at the guiding of the chariot, as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection: and let us ever remember, that though the King sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself.

He then enters upon the troubled state of Scotland, and accuses the Scots' leaders of having addressed themselves to foreign states, and treated with them to deliver themselves up to their protection and power. That His Majesty, to avoid a manifest and apparent mischief threatened to this and his other kingdoms, had resolved, by the means of a powerful army, to reduce Scotland to just and modest conditions of obedience: that the charge of such an army had been thoroughly advised, and must needs amount to a very great sum, such as could not be imagined to be found in his coffers; he, therefore, calls upon them for subsidies to carry on this war. The Commons chose Mr. Sergeant Glanville their speaker.

Several petitions were presented by the knights of the shires for Middlesex, Hertford, &c. Mr. Arthur Capel delivered in the first from the county of Hertford, complaining of ship-money, projects, monopolies, the star-chamber, high-commission courts, &c., setting forth the grievances of the people by the church and state; and several of the members delivered their sense of the present state of affairs; amongst others, Mr. (afterwards Sir Harbottle) Grimston, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and others, whose speeehes are given at length in Rushworth.

The House had daily warm debates upon the precedency of supply or grievances; but the King, impatient of the delay of the supplies, in much displeasure dissolved the parliament, on the 5th of May following its commencement.

The day following some members were imprisoned. The Lord Brook's study, cabinets, and pockets were searched for papers. Henry Bellasis, knight of the shire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were called before the council and examined concerning some particulars respecting the King's service, and of passages in parliament; and not giving satisfactory answers, were committed to the Fleet prison.

The council for the King's present supply required the aldermen of London to give in the names of such citizens as were able to lend to the amount of 200,000*l.*, which they refusing, were committed to prison, and the attorney-general directed to proceed against them in the star-chamber; also against the lord mayor and sheriffs of London for their neglect to execute the process for the ship-money; and against the sheriff of Suffolk for a similar neglect.

Towards the latter end of July and beginning of August, the Scots were active in raising forces, and imposed a tenth penny upon every man's rents, towards the maintenance of their army to march into England; and preparatory thereto, their General, Leslie, besieged and took Edinburgh Castle.

The King's necessities, continues Rushworth, being great, he ordered the seizure of the bullion in the mint at the Tower, which had been brought from beyond sea to be coined, which greatly alarmed the Spanish merchants and others, who immediately addressed the King, declaring that this proceeding would for ever thereafter hinder the bringing it in; and would prove to his great prejudice, not only by the loss of the coinage of the bullion, but in his reputation, his faith being pledged for the freedom of merchants to bring it in, and freely to remove it. The owners of the bullion at length consented to the King's having 40,000*l.*, being a third part of it, upon his security.

August 20. The King began his journey towards York, in some haste, upon information that the Scots were ready to enter the kingdom, which they accordingly did on the 20th of the same month. And the King published a proclamation, summoning all holding of him by grand sergeanty, escuage, or knight's service, to do their services against the Scots according to their tenures: also for the levying and payment of the arrears of ship-money. Commissions of array were also issued to the lords-lieutenants of the several counties.

In a skirmish between the English and Scots' armies near Newcastle, on the 28th of August, the English army was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Durham, leaving Newcastle without soldiers, of which the Scots took immediate possession.

On the 4th September a petition was presented to the King from the commissioners of the late parliament in Scotland, after his army had retreated into Yorkshire, accounting for their proceedings, and entreating him to consider their pressing grievances, and to provide for the repair of their wrongs and losses; and, through a parliament, to settle a firm and durable peace. The King answered, that when he should have advised with an intended meeting which had been summoned of the peers of his kingdom of England, in the city of York, on the 24th of the then month, they should receive an answer to their petition; but that he expected and commanded that they should advance no further with their army.

On the 24th September, the council of peers assembled at York, which His Majesty opened by a speech, stating, that upon sudden invasions, when the dangers were near and instant, it had been the custom of his predecessors to assemble the great council of the peers, and by their advice and assistance to give a timely remedy to such evils, which could not admit a delay so long as must of necessity be allowed for the assembling of the parliament. And that he had resolved to call a parliament, to meet on the 3d November then next.—That there were two points wherein he should desire their advice, which were the chief cause of their meeting: First, what answer to give to the rebels' petition: Second, how his army should be kept on foot and maintained until the supplies of Parliament might be had. For that so long as the Scots' army remained in England, he thought no man would council to disband his. His Majesty then ordered the petition of the Scots, and other papers and proceedings in the business of Scotland, to be laid before the council, who finally determined, that certain of themselves should be sent as commissioners to treat with commissioners to be appointed by the Scots, to meet at Northallerton. The place of meeting was afterwards changed to Rippon, where the commissioners met, and proceeded upon the treaty; but the time of meeting of the ensuing parliament of England approaching, the further proceedings were adjourned to London, and a cessation of arms was agreed on.

Lord Clarendon gives the following account of the King's proceedings, in his attempt to force a liturgy upon Scotland. After relating the King's first journey thither, and his coronation there, he proceeds:—The King was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the church, as believing, in his soul, the Church of England to be instituted the nearest to the practice of the apostles, and the best, for the propagation and advancement of the Christian religion, of any church in the world. And on the other side, though no man was more averse from the Romish church than he was, nor better understood the motives of their separation from us and animosity against us, he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects who were against the government of the church established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find or make, to withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection: and that, therefore, he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that temper and disposition to be watched, and provided against in England; and if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy:—that in Scotland, indeed, it covered the whole nation; so that though there were bishops in name, the whole jurisdiction, and they themselves, were subject to an assembly which was purely presbyterian; no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness. He then refers to the late king's intention to introduce the liturgy of the Church of England into Scotland, had he lived:—that the king his son, who, with his father's other virtues, inherited that zeal for religion, proposed nothing more to himself than to unite his three kingdoms in one form of God's worship and public devotions: and there being then so great a serenity in all his dominions, there was great reason to believe that in this journey into Scotland to be crowned, he carried with him the resolution to finish that important business in the church at the same time:—that to that end, the then Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, attended His Majesty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was dean of the chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that design had not been in view; to accomplish which, he was no less solicitous than the King himself, nor the King the less solicitous for his advice: —that the introduction of the liturgy of the Church of England having been objected to for various reasons, the King ordered the framing of such a liturgy as should be likely to be most acceptable to Scotland; and then returned to England, without ever having proposed, or made the least approach in public towards any alteration in the church. It had been happy, adds His Lordship, had there been nothing done then that had any reference to that affair; and that, since it was not ready, nothing had been transacted to promote it; which accidentally alienated the affections of the people from it; and what was done was imputed to the Bishop, who was like enough to be guilty of it; since he did really believe that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the church than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust:—that this opinion, and the prosecution of it, (though his integrity was unquestionable, and his zeal as great for the good and honour of the state as for the advancement and security of the church,) was the unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and of the prejudice towards the church, the malice against it, and almost the destruction of it:—that upon the death of Abbot, he, Laud, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man, says His Lordship, of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some natural infirmities, the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure, no man was ever better supplied with that provision:—that when he came into authority, it may be he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and I doubt, says His Lordship, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that as they accused him of popery because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to popery, so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points, when they abhorred his discipline, and reverenced the government of the church, and prayed for the peace of it, with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom:—that in the end of September, 1633, he was invested in the title, power, and jurisdiction of Archbishop of Canterbury, and was without a rival in church or state; and Dr. Juxon was, by his influence with the King, appointed to succeed him as Bishop of London. And that it was now a time of great ease and tranquillity; and the Archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the church, in which he well knew he had the King's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition, and that he should need no other assistance. His Lordship adds, that though the nation generally was without any ill talent to the church, either in doctrine or discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called innovation, and were easily persuaded that any thing of that kind was but to please the papists.

The Archbishop, proceeds His Lordship, was a man of great courage and resolution; and being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest way to those ends. He courted persons too little, nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him; if the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the church should be felt, as well as spoken of; and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders.

His Lordship then mentions the prosecution in the Star-chamber of Mr. Prynn, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, for libels against the government of the church by bishops; which, says he, they had published to corrupt the people, with circumstances very scandalous, and in language very scurrilous and impudent, which all men thought deserved exemplary punishment; yet, adds he, when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, (as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors used to be when they were not able to redeem themselves by any fine for their trespasses, or to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had raised against the good name and reputation of others,) men began no more to consider their manners, but the men; and each profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for time to come.

His Lordship then relates, that the remissness of Archbishop Laud's predecessor, Archbishop Abbot, and of other bishops who, by his example, had introduced, or at least connived at, a negligence that gave great scandal to the church, and, no doubt, offended many pious men: this was, the little care the people took of the churches, and the parsons as little of the chancels, that, instead of beautifying or adorning them, they rarely provided against the falling of many of them, and suffered them to be kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses; the rain and the wind to infest them, and the sacraments themselves to be administered, only when the people were inclined to receive them. That this profane liberty and uncleanliness the Archbishop resolved to reform with all expedition, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in so pious a work, which was sure very grateful to all men of devotion; yet, adds he, I know not how, the prosecution of it with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the ministers and the parishioners, raised an evil spirit towards the church, which the enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it: that the removal of the communion-table out of the body of the church, where it had used to stand, and to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the chancel, which frequently made necessary the purchase of a new table: the inclosing it with a rail of joiners' work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of dogs and all servile uses; the obliging all persons to come up to those rails to receive the sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent persons, who loved order and decency, yet introduced first murmurings among the people, upon the charge and expense of it; and if the minister were not a man of discretion and reputation, to compose and reconcile those indispositions, as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed and increased the distemper, it begot suits and appeals at law: that the opinion that there was no necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too much done, brought the power and jurisdiction that imposed the doing it to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture in the celebration of it, brought in new disputes, and administered new subjects of offence, according to the custom of the place and humour of the people; and the terms altar, adoration, and genuflexion, and other expressions, for the more perspicuous carrying on those disputations. New books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the life of Christianity had been at stake. Besides, that there was not an equal concurrence in the prosecution of this matter amongst the bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient disputes, when the subordinate clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of the diocesans, but expressly against their injunctions, to make those alterations and reformations themselves, and by their own authority.

That the Archbishop, guided purely by his zeal and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of the church, with the custom observed in the King's chapel and in most cathedral churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuance in many other places, prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the season, and had prejudice against those who, out of fear or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were at least as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several dioceses: and some of them, with more passion and less circumspection than they had his example for, or than he approved, persecuting those who opposed them very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance; whilst other bishops, not so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who had not been so beholden to him, nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the execution of those orders not mind-ed, and not the less pleased to find that the prejudice of that transaction reflected solely upon the Archbishop.

That upon the death of the Earl of Portland, high-treasurer of England, the Archbishop was appointed one of the commissioners of the treasury; in which office, with his natural earnestness and warmth, he made it his principal care to improve and advance the King's revenue, by his manner of doing which he created himself many enemies. That Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed to succeed the Earl of Portland in his office of high-treasurer; a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom; who had been, within two years before, but a private chaplain to the King, and the president of a poor college in Oxford. This, says His Lordship, did inflame more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the Archbishop, (who was the known architect of this new fabric,) but most unjustly indisposed many towards the church itself, which they looked upon as the gulf ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. In the mean time, the Archbishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger support for the church, and never abated any thing of his severity and rigour towards men of all conditions; or in the sharpness of his language and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some commotion, when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate, even in the council, where all men were equally free, with that patience and temper that was necessary, of which they who wished him not well took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be transported with some incident passion, which, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for, and would most readily and heartily make acknowledgments.

Whatsoever was the cause, adds His Lordship, this excellent man, who stood not upon the advantage-ground before, from the time of his promotion to the archbishopric, or rather from that of his being commissioner of the treasury, was exceedingly provoked or underwent the envy, and reproach, and malice of men of all qualities and conditions, who agreed in nothing else.

His Lordship then enters upon the affairs of Scotland after the King's return from thence; giving an account of the ill-reception of the canons and liturgy formed for that kingdom, and continuing his account of those affairs to the time of the King's declaration of his resolution to raise an army.

That the King, being apprehensive of the intention of the Scots to invade England, but having no means of resisting it, resolved to call a Parliament; but that it might appear that the court was not apprehensive of what the Parliament would or could do, and that it was convened by His Majesty's grace and inclination, and not from any motive of necessity, it had proceeded in all respects in the same unpopular ways it had done. Ship-money was levied with the same severity, and the same rigour used in the ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the humour of any man, which looked like steadiness; and, if it were then well pursued, degenerated too soon afterwards.

His Lordship, referring to the dissolution of the last Parliament, (of the 13th of the preceding April, 1640, and which was dissolved on the 5th May following,) observes, that there could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation than this dissolution caused; and men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out. That it could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given, which put the King upon that resolution. That the king was soon afterwards sorry for what he had done; but finding he could not recall it, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of money, in which he had so wonderful success, that in less than three weeks, by the voluntary loans of the lords of the council, and of private gentlemen about the city, 300,000l. were paid into the exchequer, at His Majesty's disposal, and an army was raised.

That the burden of the state affairs lay principally upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Cottington, who, with some others, made up the committee of state, (which was reproachfully afterwards called the Junto, and enviously then, in the court, the Cabinet Council,) who were, upon all occasions, to meet when the secretaries received any extraordinary intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary dispatch, or as often otherwise as was thought fit; whereas the body of the council observed set days and hours for their meetings, and came not together unless specially summoned.

But that the weight and the envy of all great matters rested upon the three first. The Archbishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the church, which was an invidious province, having been, from the death of the Earl of Portland, when he became a commissioner of the treasury, more engaged in the civil business than he might desire to be, and, throughout the whole business, passionately concerned for the church of Scotland, and so conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him, a more than ordinary prejudice and uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

That the Earl of Strafford had, for the space of almost six years, entirely governed Ireland, where he had been compelled, upon reasons of state, to exercise many acts of power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Mountnorris; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that, in a time of peace, had been ever executed by any subject. That he was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony, to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough; and, particularly, he had an enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, — the whole Scots nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom.

That the Lord Cottington, though he was a very wise man, yet, having spent the greatest part of his life in Spain, and so, having been always subject to the unpopular imputation of being of the Spanish faction, was better skilled to make his master great abroad than gracious at home; and being chancellor of the exchequer from the time of the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year, had his hand in many hard shifts for money, and had the disadvantage of being suspected, at least, as a favourer of the Papists, by which he was in great umbrage with the people: he had also, as chancellor of the exchequer, raised the revenue of that court to the King to be much greater than it had ever been before his administration; by which husbandry all the rich families of England, of noblemen and gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the crown; looking upon what the law had intended for their preservation, to be now applied to their destruction.

His Lordship, after giving an account of the meeting in September, of the great council at York, and of the King's declaration to that council of his intention to call a Parliament to assemble the 3d of November, and of the proceedings in the treaty at Rippon with the Scots, and the adjournment of it to London, observes, that it was strange, and had somewhat of a judgment from Heaven in it, that all the industry and learning of the late years had been bestowed in finding out, and evincing that, in case of necessity, any extraordinary way for supply was lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was no necessity; and that now, when the necessity was apparent, money must levied in the ordinary course of Parliament, which was then more extraordinary than the other had been, as York must be defended from an enemy within twenty-five miles of it, by money to be given at London six weeks after, and to be gathered within six months. That it had been only the season and evidence of necessity that had been questioned, and the view of it, in a perspective state, at a distance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an imposition; but that it was never denied, that, when an enemy had actually invaded the kingdom, and so the necessity both seen and felt, all men's goods are the goods of the public, to be applied to the public safety, and as carefully to be repaired by the public stock.

His Lordship's long, laboured character of the Archbishop, and attempt to gloss over his proceedings and conduct, in order to place them in the most favourable light, amount at last to no more than this; that, even in His Lordship's own opinion, he was one of the most unfit men that could have been found to have the direction of the King's counsels at that very critical time. A wise and moderate minister might have then prevented all the mischief that afterwards happened, by checking the ill-judged and ill-fated attempt of the King to bring all his subjects to one form of worship.

He would have represented to him the danger and folly of such an attempt, instead of hurrying him on to those violent measures, that terminated, as might have been foreseen, in an insurrection in Scotland, and brought a Scots army into England. The Archbishop's character may be gathered from Lord Clarendon's own account, (disguised as it is attempted to be in his favour,) to be that of a hasty, impetuous, unforgiving, implacable man: the violence of whose temper appears to have actuated all his proceedings, both in church and state. In rectifying the abuses he supposed he had found in the churches, His Lordship observes, that there was as much passion and contention about the placing the communion-table, and the manner, and gesture, and posture in the celebration of the sacrament, as if the life of Christianity had been at stake. This His Lordship calls reverence and zeal for the place of God's service. To the mistaken and intemperate exercise of this supposed reverence and zeal, or, rather, spirit of domination, rather than to the sectaries, must surely be attributed the after-dislike of the nation to the bishops and their power, and, finally, the fall of the hierarchy, and of the established religion. The accusation of his disposition to popery does not appear to be without foundation; and certainly the Catholics did not think him averse to it, in the serious offers he acknowledges, in the forementioned passage in his diary, they had repeatedly made him of a cardinal's hat, and which he does not appear to have absolutely refused. His Lordship says, that the Archbishop was a man of great courage and resolution: his apprehensions, arising from various dreams, do not denote him so to be; on the contrary, they give him the appearance of timidity and superstition. He mentions several of them in his diary, which are very frivolous and unmeaning; but he appears to rely on them. In noting one of these dreams of his father's appearance, he adds, I am not much moved with dreams, but thought fit to remember this. He had before remembered several others, very much in the same manner. He also mentions, that upon his going into his study, he found his own picture fallen down upon the face, and lying upon the floor, the string being broken by which it hanged: he adds, "I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament, God grant this to be no omen." These circumstances bear no marks of courage and resolution; they rather appear to be the natural consequences of a misgiving and an alarmed state of mind, upon beginning to feel the consequences of the difficulties and dangers into which he had brought his sovereign, and his country, and himself, by his evil and intemperate counsels. Archbishop Abbot, (who was sequestered from his archbishopric for refusing to license Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon, entitled Apostolical Obedience,) in his narrative of these proceedings, to be found in Rushworth, describes Archbishop Laud, who succeeded him, as the only inward counsellor of Buckingham, sitting with him, sometimes privately, whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spite. He adds, that his life, at Oxford, was to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called puritanism) in their auditors.

Mrs. Hutchinson says, he was a man (she calls him fellow) of mean extraction, and of arrogant pride. Mr. Hume says of him: This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name; that he was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise; that he was disinterested; but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own; that his zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion, that is, in imposing, by rigorous measures, his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him; that in prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of prudence, and rules of good manners; that he was in this respect happy, that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exercise of his anger by that means became in his eyes a merit and a virtue. This, adds Mr. Hume, was the man who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms.

Instead of endeavouring to moderate the King's disposition to arbitrary power, he did his utmost to increase it; and, encouraging the King in his fallacious wish, referred to by Lord Clarendon, of uniting the three kingdoms in one form of God's worship, occasioned the war with Scotland, which, in its consequences, brought on the fate of the King, and the destruction of his government, both civil and ecclesiastical. It is not difficult to collect his character from Lord Clarendon, favourably as he is disposed towards him, and determined as he appears to be to palliate his failings, and put the most favourable construction upon his evil conduct. He speaks of him as unnecessarily attending the King to Scotland, being as solicitous to see accomplished the King's design as the King himself was. He describes him as a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtue; but that he had a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself, — strong resentments and dislikes, — great courage and resolution, — but a roughness of manners, and uncourtly quickness. Lord Strafford, another of the King's cabinet council, Lord Clarendon describes as of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough. Mrs. Hutchinson says, that he as much outstripped all the rest in favour, as he did in abilities; being a man of deep policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeal to keep up the glory of his own greatness; that, in the beginning of this reign, he had been a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gained himself an honourable reputation; and was dreadful to the court-party, who thereupon strewed snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soul was that way entered and captivated. Mr. Hume says of him (Lord Strafford), That, by his eminent talents and abilities, he merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him; — that his character was stately and austere, more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the King was unshaken; but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly lent all his endeavours to diminish, his virtue seemed not to have been entirely pure, but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition.

Mr. May, speaking of Lord Strafford, says, The serious men groaned for a parliament; but that the great statesmen plied it the harder, to complete that work they had begun, of setting up prerogative above all laws.

That the Lord Wentworth (afterwards created Earl of Strafford), for his service of that kind, was then labouring to oppress Ireland, of which he was deputy; and to begin that work in a conquered kingdom, which was intended to be afterwards wrought by degrees in England; and that he, indeed, had gone very far, and was very prosperous in those ways of tyranny, though very much to the endamaging and setting back of that newly-established kingdom. That he was a man of great parts, of a deep reach, subtle wit, of spirit and industry to carry on his business, and such a conscience as was fit for that work he was designed to. That he understood the right way, and the liberty of his country, as well as any man; for which, in former parliaments, he stood up stiffly, and seemed an excellent patriot. That for those abilities he was soon taken off by the court, and raised in honour, to be employed in a contrary way — for enslaving of his country, which his ambition easily drew him to undertake.

Mrs. Hutchinson says, that the King had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the Queen, who, grown out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vain extravagances she lived in at first, to that which did less become her, and was more fatal to the kingdom. That this lady, being by her priests affected with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion, whose principle it is to subvert all others, applied that way her great wit and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs. Mr. Hume says of her, that by her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent measures. That her religion likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune, since it augmented the jealousy which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the Catholics some indulgences which were generally distasteful to the nation.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIFTH (LONG) PARLIAMENT, 3D NOV. 1640.—NUMBERS.—THE KING'S SPEECH.—PETITIONS ON BEHALF OF MR. PRYNN AND OTHERS.—GRIEVANCES.—MONEY ORDERED FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH ARMIES.—ACCUSATION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.—EXTRAJUDICIAL OPINION OF THE JUDGES CENSURED.—CONDEMNATION OF THE CANONS AND CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CLERGY.—SCOT'S ACCUSATION OF LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE LORD-KEEPER FINCH.—HIS ESCAPE.—ACCUSATION OF THE JUDGES.—REMOVAL OF IMAGES, &C. —BIIL FOR TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS PASSED.—SENTENCES OF MR. PRYNN, &C. REVERSED.—THE EARL OF STRAFFORD'S TRIAL.—ACT OF ATTAINDER PASSES THE LORDS AND COMMONS.—PROTESTATION OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS, &C.—THE KING'S ASSENT TO THE BILL OF ATTAINDER.—LORD STRAFFORD'S EXECUTION.—DEBATES UPON EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT.—CHANGES OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S IMPEACHMENT.

On Tuesday the 3d of November, 1640, the parliament met at Westminster.

Then follow, in Rushworth, the names of the members of the House of Commons, and places they represented, amounting to the number of 497. The number of the last parliament was 502. The difference between the numbers appears to arise principally from the different number of members representing particular places.

The King, in a short speech, states the objects of their meeting, and refers to the Lord-keeper for the rest. He describes His Majesty as a king of exemplary piety and justice, of rare endowments and abilities of nature; and what he had acquired, depth of judgment, quickness of apprehension, unparalleled moderation in great councils and great affairs. He then speaks of the Queen as the mirror of virtue. He relates the proceedings in the affairs of Scotland since the last parliament; and concludes with desiring the Commons to choose their Speaker. They chose William Lenthall, Esq. a bencher of Lincoln's Inn.

Petitions were presented on behalf of Prynn, Bastwick, Burton, Lilburn, Leighton, and Alexander Jennings, who were ordered to be brought to the bar of the house.

The first member, says Rushworth, that stood up to represent the grievances of his country was Arthur Capel, Esq., knight of the shire for the county of Hertford, (afterwards Lord Capel,) who presented a petition in the name of the freeholders of that county, setting forth the burden and oppression of the people during the long intermission of Parliament, in their consciences, liberties, and properties, particularly in the heavy tax of ship-money. Similar petitions were also presented from the counties of York, Lincoln, and several other counties and boroughs.

Mr. Pym, one of the members for Tavistock, spoke at considerable length upon the subject of grievances, and concluded with proposing a conference with the Lords.

Mr. May observes, that though the King was thanked for his grace towards his English Parliament, the desire of expelling the Scots was otherwise considered by the Houses: for that, about a week after, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that 100,000*l.* should be paid to the two armies, to be levied rateably upon all the counties of England; and that, till it could be levied, the money to be taken up at interest. And the Scots' commissioners were allowed to come and exhibit their complaints, and dispute the business at London.

Many excellent speeches upon the subject of grievances were delivered by different members. Lord Digby concludes his speech by moving the appointment of a select committee, to draw, out of all that had been there represented, such a remonstrance as might be a faithful and lively representation to His Majesty of the deplorable state of the kingdom, and such as might happily discover unto his clear and excellent understanding the pernicious authors of it. And being prepared, that they might repair to the Lords, and desire them to join in it.

So numerous, says Rushworth, were the complaints and petitions touching grievances, that the whole House was divided and subdivided into above forty committees, to hear and examine them: but the principal were reducible to these general heads; namely, committees concerning religion, innovations in the church, and grievances by ecclesiastical courts; concerning public affairs in general, and particularly concerning Ireland and Scotland. Other committees, relating to ship-money, judges, and courts of justice; concerning popery, the popish hierarchy, the pope's nuncios, plots, and designs, &c.

Upon Lord Digby's above motion, a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw, out of that which had been presented to the House, such a declaration as might be a faithful representation to the House, of the state of the kingdom. Lord Digby, Sir Francis Seymour, Mr. Selden, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Capel, were amongst the members of this committee.

Upon the 11th of November, at the instance of Mr. Pym, a committee was formed to consider of information received against the Earl of Strafford, supposed to be sufficient to charge him with high treason. The committee reported that they found just cause for accusing him of high treason, and the House was moved to desire the Lords that he might be sequestered from Parliament, and committed. The House of Lords accordingly committed him to the custody of the gentleman-usher of their House.

The House resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the charge imposed upon the subject for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, were against the laws of the realm, the subject's right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in Parliament, and to the petition of right. Also, that the extra-judicial opinions of the judges, published in the Star-chamber, and inrolled in the courts of Westminster, were against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subject, and contrary to former resolutions in Parliament, and to the petition of right. And a committee was appointed, amongst whom were Lord Falkland, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), to go forthwith to the judges, to know how they were solicited or threatened, and in what manner, and by whom, to give any opinion or judgment concerning ship-money.

Mr. Secretary Windebank, instead of attending the House, as ordered, fled into France.

December 16. The House resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the clergy of England, convened in a congregation or synod, or otherwise, had no power to make any constitutions, canons, or act whatsoever, in matter of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or the laity of the land, without common consent in Parliament. Also that those lately made contained matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence. And that the several grants of the benevolence or contribution granted to His Majesty by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in their several late convocations or synods, were contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy.

The same day the Scots' commissioners accused the Archbishop of Canterbury, before the House of Commons, of alterations in matters of religion, pressed upon them without order, and against law; —a new book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, a liturgy, or book of common prayer. Accordingly, the next day he was voted to be a traitor, and Mr. Holles was sent to the Lords to accuse him of high treason, upon which he was committed to the gentleman-usher of the black rod. The Bishop of Ely, Matthew Wren, was accused of setting up idolatry and superstition in divers places, and exercising and acting some things of that nature in his own person; and because the Commons had heard of his endeavour to escape out of the kingdom, he was obliged to give security for his appearance.

The House then proceeded to prepare an impeachment against the Lord-keeper Finch, and by his desire he was permitted to address the House in person; but immediately afterwards he was voted a traitor upon various charges; and the next day he was accused before the Lords. But he escaped into Holland, and the King deputed Sir Edward Littleton, Lord-chief-justice of the Common Pleas, to sit as Speaker in the House of Lords.

The Commons sent a message to the Lords, that they had received informations of crimes of a very high nature against Sir John Bramston, Lord-chief-justice of the King's Bench, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Justice Berkly, and Justice Crawley, who ordered them to find security for their appearance.

The cessation of arms with Scotland was renewed for a month longer.

Lord Falkland, with the assistance of Mr. Hyde, read the articles of impeachment of the Lord-keeper Finch.

Thursday, January 14. The thanks of the House of Commons were ordered to Mr. St. John and Mr. Whitlock, the Lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, for the great service they had performed, to the honour of the House, and good of the commonwealth, in the transacting the business of the ship-money, and the other matters concerning the liberty and property of the subject, and the articles against the late Lord-keeper.

January 16. The Lords spiritual and temporal passed an order, that Divine service be performed as appointed by the acts of parliament of the realm, and that all such as should disturb such order should be severely punished according to law; and that the parsons, vicars, and curates in the several parishes should forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that might give offence, otherwise than those that were established by the laws of the land.

Certain conventiclers in Southwark having been this day brought before the House of Lords, did all deny the most material words charged against them; but they were contradicted upon oath: whereupon they received, for that time, an admonition from the House, and were enjoined to repair for the future to their parish churches to hear Divine service; and that, in case of neglect, they should be severely punished.

January 23. It was ordered by the Commons, that commissions be sent into the several counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels.

February 3. Order of 300,000*l.* to the Scots for their friendly assistance and relief, thought fit to be made towards their losses and necessities, and a month's further cessation agreed to.

February 13. A bill was brought in for abolishing superstition and idolatry, and for advancing the worship and service of God: it was read twice, and committed to a committee of the members, amongst whom were Mr. Cromwell, Lord Fairfax, Mr. Selden, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Holles.

February 15. The Commons were sent for by the King to the House, when the King, after a speech, accusing them of delay in not attending to those things that concerned the strength of the kingdom, or the state, or his own particulars, passed the bill for triennial parliaments, which, says Rushworth, occasioned great joy; and both Houses waited on the King to thank him, and granted him two subsidies, in addition to the four before granted, for the maintenance of the King's army, and supply of the northern parts.

The sentence against Dr. Bastwick was reversed; also the judgment in the exchequer against Mr. Hampden, for ship-money. Also, soon afterwards, the sentences against Dr. Burton, Mr. Prynn, and Dr. Leighton.

March 22. (1640.) This day, says Rushworth, began the trial of the Earl of Strafford in Westminster-hall, which he gives at length from his short-hand characters, having been appointed to take down the proceedings. The King, Queen, and Prince were present in private.

Lord Strafford's counsel having been heard in his defence in point of law, the House took some days to consider of further proceedings; and, on the 19th April, they resolved that the endeavours of the Earl of Strafford to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm of England and

Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law in both those kingdoms, was high treason. And a bill for that purpose was brought into the House; and, upon the question being put for passing it, 59 were against its passing, and 204 for it; whereupon it was ordered to be ingrossed and sent up to the Lords.

Mr. Hyde reported the case of the county of York, whereupon it was resolved that the commission and instructions, whereby the president (Lord Strafford) and council of the north exercised a jurisdiction, was illegal, both in creation and execution; and that it was unprofitable to His Majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to his subjects in those parts. And Mr. Hyde was appointed to manage the conference thereon with the Lords.

Mr. Pym acquainted the House, that, according to the commands of the House, he had delivered to the House of Lords the bill of attainder (of Lord Strafford); and informed them, that the House was ready to justify the legality of the bill, if the Lords should desire a conference by a committee of both Houses, the sooner, and more public the way, the better, and the more agreeable to the desire of the House of Commons. The House of Lords appointed to hear the House of Commons in Westminster-hall, at eight o'clock on the Saturday morning, touching the matter of law;

and Mr. Solicitor St. John was enjoined by the House of Commons to maintain the legal part of the bill, and Mr. Maynard and Mr. Glyn to assist him. The House of Lords postponed this conference to Thursday, the 29th April.

Mr. St. John's argument of law upon the bill is given at length in Rushworth.

Upon the close of this speech, the House adjourned. And on Saturday, May 1., the King sent for the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and made a speech in favour of the Earl of Strafford, in which he says, that he, having been present at the hearing of the whole of that cause, and that it now was come to pass that of necessity he must have part in that judgment, he must tell them that he could not, in his conscience, condemn him of high treason — that it was not fit for him to argue the business: a positive doctrine best comes out of the mouth of a prince; yet he must tell them three great truths, which he was sure nobody knew so well as him himself, — That he (Lord Strafford) never had an intention of bringing over the Irish army into England, nor ever was advised by any one so to do. Nor was there ever any debate before him (the King), either in public council or at private committees, of the disloyalty or disaffection of any of his English subjects, nor had he ever any suspicion of them. Nor had he ever been consulted by any to alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. He desired to be rightly understood, — that, in his conscience, he could not condemn him of high treason; yet, that he could not say he could clear him of misdemeanor: therefore he hoped they might find a way to satisfy justice and their own fears, and not to press upon his conscience. That, to satisfy his people, he would do great matters; but that no fear, no respect, should make him go against his conscience. That he must confess matter of misdemeanor; he was so clear in that, though he would not chalk out the way, he would tell them that he did think the Lord Strafford was not fit thereafter to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust; no, not so much as that of a constable. That therefore he left it to the Lords to find some way to bring him out of that great straight, and to keep themselves and the kingdom from such inconveniences. That certainly, he that thought him guilty of high treason, in his conscience might condemn him of misdemeanor.

Sunday, May 2. This day was solemnised at Whitehall the marriage of the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, His Majesty's eldest daughter.

Mr. Pym informed the House of divers informations of desperate designs, both at home and abroad, against the Parliament and the peace of the nation; and that there was an endeavour to disaffect the army, and to bring them up to

London to overawe the Parliament. Also a design upon the Tower, to endeavour the Earl of Strafford's escape. And that the French were drawing their forces to the coast; and there was reason to fear that their design was upon Portsmouth. And that divers persons of eminency about the King appeared to be deeply engaged in these plots. That it was necessary the ports should be stopped, and that His Majesty should be desired to command that no person attending upon the King, Queen, or Prince, should depart without leave of His Majesty, with the advice of his Parliament.

The House fell into serious debate, and were generally of opinion, that it was necessary to enter into a common resolution for the common safety, and came to a determination of taking a protestation, which is given at length in Rushworth.

The Commons sent a message to the Lords, that they had just cause of suspicion of a secret practice to discontent the army with the proceedings of Parliament, to engage them in some design of dangerous consequence to the state; and desiring the appointment of a select committee to take the examinations upon oath of the suspected persons, in the presence of some of the Commons; which examinations were afterwards taken. They also came to several resolutions for the security of the nation; in all which the Lords concurred. The Commons also desired the concurrence of the Lords to their protestation or resolution, upon the presentation whereof, Mr. Holles addressed the Lords in a long speech upon the grievances and dangerous state of the nation. The names of the Lords and Commons who signed this protestation are given in Rushworth. The number of Lords was 92, — of the Commons, 434. Amongst the Peers were, the Lord Privy-seal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, seventeen bishops, the chief justices of both courts, and several of the judges. Amongst the Commons were, Lenthall the Speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Arthur Capel, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Lord Digby, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Denzil Holles, Lord Falkland, O. Cromwell, Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Lord Monson. The names of those that were supposed to favour Lord Strafford were posted up in the Old Palace-Yard, in Westminster, with the title of Straffordians, betrayers of their country. The bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford soon afterwards passed the House of Lords, without any alteration; and the Commons requested the Lords to move His Majesty for his consent to the bill; and accordingly a number of peers was sent to the King for that purpose, and also with the bill for the continuance of the then present Parliament, enacting, that it should not be prorogued, or adjourned, or dissolved, but by act of Parliament; nor the Houses of Peers or Commons adjourned, but by themselves, or their own order. The King, after advising with his privy-council, some of the judges and bishops, and others, and after much doubt and hesitation in his own mind, signed a commission to some of the Lords, authorising them to give his assent to the bill of attainder, also to the above bill for continuing the present Parliament; and which was accordingly given. And the Earl was executed on the 12th of May.

The order of the House of Commons of the 20th of November, in which the Parliament met, that none should sit in that House after the communion day, but those that had first received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, proves, if any proof was necessary, that they must be all then members of that church, or conforming thereto in this instance; and, consequently, could have no disposition to injure it. And this, as has been said, should silence those of His Lordship's admirers, who, through ignorance or ill-will, have represented the Long Parliament as in a plot, at its first sitting down, against the whole ecclesiastical establishment. They were apprehensive of a tendency towards popery in the innovations of the Archbishop, and from the lenity generally shown to papists; and these abuses they generally opposed and endeavoured to correct, but they do not appear to have had, at that time, any designs against episcopacy.

Sir Harbottle Grimston, upon his motion for the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, speaks of him in the severest terms. Lord Falkland, in like manner, speaks of the Lord-keeper Finch, upon reading the articles of impeachment of him. Lord Digby speaks most forcibly and most ably in support of the bill for preventing inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments. Also, in the debate respecting episcopal government, he is utterly against the abolition of episcopacy. But he proposes a committee to collect all grievances springing from the misgovernment of the church. And that there might be a standing committee of members of both Houses, who, with a certain number of learned ministers, to be nominated by the House, might take into consideration all those grievances, and advise of the best way to settle peace and satisfaction to the government of the church, to the comfort of all good Christians, and of all good commonwealthsmen. Sir Benjamin Rudyard was also against the abolition of episcopacy, but for some reformation. Lord Falkland spoke upon the same subject, and to the same effect. Sir Harbottle Grimston proposes depriving the bishops of their temporal jurisdictions; he is against their sitting at the council-board; also their sitting in parliament; but he would have them, or some of them, always present, to give their advice in spiritual matters, when thereunto required by the Lords, as the judges do in temporal affairs. Also to suppress the high commission court. Lord Falkland delivers his opinion against ship-money, and severely censures the judges for their delivering their opinion and judgment in an extrajudical manner; and he concludes by moving for a committee to prepare a charge against the Lord-keeper Finch, for tampering with the judges for these opinions. Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke upon the subject of the proceedings of the last convocation, and the new canons, and moves for the suppression of them.

Upon the resolution of the House of Commons, of the 19th of April, that Lord Strafford was guilty of high treason, and the report of the bill of attainder, Lord Digby, one of the managers of the impeachment, addressed the House in a most eloquent and impressive speech, declarative of his opinion of the insufficiency of the evidence produced at the trial in proof of the charge of high treason. He, nevertheless, describes Lord Strafford as a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment. That he confidently believed him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that could be charactered: his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application; to be that grand apostate of the commonwealth, who was not to expect pardon in this world till he should be dispatched to the other. He concludes with advising the laying aside the bill of attainder, and adopting some other punishment saving life;—such as might secure the state from him, without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment, as he had endangered it by his practices.

His Lordship was called upon to explain himself touching some passages in the above speech, which he did on the following day.

Lord Clarendon mentions the vote passed in the House of Commons, whilst the bill of attainder was depending in the House of Lords, for suppressing the court of York, in which the House of Lords had concurred; and in which proceeding His Lordship, then Mr. Hyde, describes himself to have taken an active part; and, in his speech in the conference with the Lords, as having stated that the powers in the commission appointing the court, and in the instructions attending it, were several times enlarged by Lord Strafford. He introduces this speech (given at large in Rushworth) by stating, that he was commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, to present to their Lordships a great and crying grievance, which, though it be complained of in the present pressures only by the northern parts, yet, by the logic and consequence of it, is the grievance of the whole kingdom. It is the court of the president and council of the north, or, as it is more usually called, the courts of York, which, by the spirit and ambition of the ministers trusted there, or by the natural inclination of courts to enlarge their own power and jurisdiction, had so prodigiously broken down the banks of the first channels in which it ran, as it had almost overwhelmed that country under the sea of arbitrary power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of distemper and oppression. He then proceeds to give the history of the foundation and erection of this court, and of the progress and growth of it. And concludes with requesting their Lordships' concurrence with the Commons in beseeching His Majesty that the present commission may be revoked, and no more such granted.

Lord Clarendon affects to attribute the proceedings against Lord Strafford to revenge in some of the members, who had received some disobligation from him; but he is obliged reluctantly to acknowledge, that the motion for his impeachment was no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House; nor was there, adds he, in all the debate, one person who offered to stop the torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the Earl's carriage, except Lord Falkland (who was well known to be far from any kindness for him), when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the House to consider whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned, by a committee, before they sent up to accuse him; declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him.

It is remarkable, that Lord Strafford was of opinion, in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, that common fame was sufficient ground of proceeding.

His Lordship says of Lord Strafford, that he was a man of great parts and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning; though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. That his first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country, where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Saville, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a privy-counsellor and officer at court. But his first attempts were so prosperous, that he did not content himself with being secure from his power in the country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in court, and so sent him down a most abject, disconsolate old man to his country, where he was also to have the superintendancy over him, by getting himself made lord-president of the north. That these successes applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itself; and a quicker progress into the great employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than haply he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman. That he was of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both in things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things; for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him, and scarce any whose faculties and abilities were equal to his; so that he relied wholly upon himself.

Lord Clarendon concludes a long-laboured character of Lord Strafford thus: — "In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, might not be unfitly applied to him; 'That no man did ever exceed him either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies;' for his acts of both kinds were notorious."

The real state of the case in Lord Strafford's instance appears to be, that his guilt in all, or most of the crimes with which he was charged, was very generally admitted, and even by Lord Clarendon himself; and that he deserved severe punishment: but certainly there were many that did think with Lord Digby, that it should not extend to the taking away his life. They did not think that the charge of high treason was proved to fall within the description of any of the specified treasons of 25 Ed. 3. c. 2. But the statute goes on to provide, that because many other like cases of treason might happen in time to come, which a man could not think nor declare at that present time, it was accorded, that if in any other case supposed treason, which was not above specified, did happen before any justices, the justices should tarry without any going to judgment of the treason, till the cause should be showed and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged treason or other felony.

On the behalf of Lord Strafford, it was contended, that the offence with which he was charged was not treason within the above specifications of treason. And that the above salvo providing for other cases of treason happening in time to come, had been repealed by subsequent statutes. This was denied on the part of the Commons. Their reasons assigned for this mode of proceeding by bill of attainder, were, (amongst others,) that if doubts of law arose, of great and general concernment, the Parliament had been usually consulted thereon: that if the law were doubtful in this case, the Parliament (where the old law is altered, and new laws made,) was the fittest judge to clear the doubt: that they, the managers, proceeded this way to obviate those scruples and delays, which, through disuse of proceedings of this nature, might have arisen in the manner and way of proceedings since the statute of 1 Hen. 4. c. 17.: that they did not find any attainder of treason in parliament for near two hundred years, but by this way of bill; and that they knew that whatsoever could be done any other way, it might be done by this: and that private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, although no evidence had been given in: and that the proceeding by way of bill was not to decline the Lords' justice in a judicial way; it was to husband time, by silencing doubts: they conceived it to be the speediest and surest way.

Could any doubt remain of Lord Strafford's deserving punishment of some sort, or at least of the absolute necessity of removing him for ever from the King's counsels, it would surely be done away by the appearance of the paper which is given verbatim by Ludlow in his Memoirs, amongst the papers there mentioned to have been found in the King's cabinet, taken at the battle of Naseby; which is also given verbatim in Rushworth, but without mentioning Lord Strafford's name as the author. The paper, in Ludlow, is entitled "Propositions delivered to His Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for securing of His Majesty's estate and bridling of parliaments, and for increase of his revenue much more than it is." For the purpose, as well of strengthening His Majesty's regal authorities against all opposition or practices of troublesome spirits, as to fortify his kingdom, he advises a fortress in every chief town and important place thereof, whereby the countries were no less to be brought into subjection than the cities themselves, and consequently the whole kingdom; whereby His Majesty would have the power thereof in his own hands. Amongst other reasons for these suggestions, he says, that in policy it is a greater tie of the people by force and necessity, than merely by love and affection; for by the one the government resteth always secure, but by the other, no longer than the people are well contented: that it forceth obstinate subjects to be no more presumptuous than it pleased His Majesty to permit them: that it is a sure remedy against rebellions and popular mutinies; and that His Majesty's government would be then secured by the people's mere subjection, and by their subjection the Parliament must be forced consequently to alter their style, and to be conformable to the King's will and pleasure: for that their words imported nothing, when the power should be in His Majesty's own hands to do with them what he pleased; being indeed the chief purpose of that discourse, and the secret intent thereof, fit to be concealed from any English, either counsellors of state or others. He then proceeds to point out the mode of accomplishing these propositions. He proposes the substance of an oath, whereby His Majesty's subjects were to acknowledge the King to be absolute king and monarch, who might by his proclamation make laws, or reverse any already made, without further consent of Parliament, or need to call them, in such cases requiring: that the Parliament in all matters (excepting causes to be sentenced, as the high court,) ought to be subject to His Majesty's will, to give the negative or affirmative conclusion, and not to be constrained by their impertinences to any inconvenience appertaining to His Majesty's authority. He then proposes several ways of increasing the King's revenue, without the assistance of a parliament.

It is not surprising that people should entertain the keenest feelings of resentment against Lord Strafford for his apostacy, when they must have remembered his foregiven several speeches in the third parliament against grievances, and in favour of the liberty of the subject. He was then one of the great champions of the people.

Whether this mode of proceeding by attainder was or was not strictly legal, it was certainly very exceptionable; and should have been avoided in this instance, as it certainly had the appearance of creating a new description of treason for the purpose of reaching Lord Strafford, whose crimes, however great, did not appear to fall within the descriptions of any of the specified treasons of the statute. And the doctrine held in this case, of the power of Parliament to declare any new treasons under the fore-mentioned proviso in that statute, was certainly a most dangerous one to the subject, putting the life of an obnoxious person into the hands of a majority of the two Houses, and of an arbitrary monarch. But it should be remembered that this mode of proceeding was not new to the country, or peculiar to this period; nevertheless it does not justify the practice. It would have been best to have tried Lord Strafford for high crimes and misdemeanours, of which he must have been convicted: and this would have been sufficient to have banished or imprisoned him perhaps for life, which Lord Clarendon says the King proposed, and which would have excluded him from the King's counsels, the great object of the Commons. But a majority of the House thought otherwise; and there is no reason to believe that they did not act according to their judgments, and agreeably to the conviction of their own consciences. Indeed Lord Clarendon describes the Earl of Bedford as expressing himself, in conference with him, as so well satisfied in his own mind, that he should have no scruple in voting for the attainder; but he disapproved the pressing of the King for his assent, contrary to his own convictions.

The proviso, or clause before mentioned, as authorising the attainder, prohibits the judges adjudging or interpreting any act or thing to be treason, or the hearing or determining any treason, in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of that act, and as if it had never been made; which proviso, Rushworth observes, in a note in the margin, had occasioned the common discourse and opinion, that this judgment upon the Earl was enacted never to be drawn into precedent in Parliament, and consequently that the Parliament had been, as Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the First, expresses, forced to stigmatise their own bill with this proviso: whereas this clause expressly respects only the judges in in their courts inferior to the Parliament: it certainly goes no farther, leaving the power of judging of treasons not specified in the act 25 Ed. 3. where it was before the passing this act of attainder. Lord Clarendon endeavours to excuse the King's conduct in assenting to the bill of attainder, by the difficulties he then laboured under from the rage and fury of the people, and from other causes which he enumerates; but the King's way was clear; he should have hazarded his kingdom, even his life, upon the refusal of his assent to this bill, satisfied, as he was, of the innocence of Lord Strafford of the crime of high treason, though equally satisfied of his guilt in other respects.

Whitelock says, the chief motive of the King for this assent was said to be, the letter said to have been written by Lord Strafford to the King, wherein he (Lord Strafford) advises what was best for

His Majesty to do in those straights, and to set his conscience at liberty; beseeching him, for prevention of such mischief as might happen by his refusal to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God, he trusted, should for ever establish betwixt him and his subjects. That his consent therein should more acquit His Majesty to God than all the world could do besides. That to a willing man there is no injury done.

By these passages, and by some private dealings, the King, continues Whitelock, was persuaded to sign a commission to three lords to pass the bill; and that he should ever be brought to it, was admired by most of his subjects, as well as by foreigners: and, adds he, after the signing this bill, the King sent Secretary Carlton to the Earl to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, especially the Earl's consent, who seriously asked the Secretary whether His Majesty had passed the bill or not, as not believing, without some astonishment, that the King would have done it. And that being again assured that it was passed, he rose from his chair, lift up his eyes to Heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

This surprise expressed by Lord Strafford, it has been said, has the appearance of his expectation of a different effect to have been produced by his writing this letter than the King's assent to the bill, and affords reason to believe that the Earl would not have so written had he supposed this result.

Lord Clarendon, Mr. Hume, and even Mr. Whitelock, seem to have lost sight of the great mischiefs brought upon the King and kingdom by the evil counsels and conduct of Lord Strafford, in their admiration of his great ability and composure of mind in his defence before the Lords, and at his execution. But without meaning to derogate from His Lordship in these respects, it should be remembered that many have equalled him upon similar trying occasions; and that this fortitude of His Lordship in this great extremity should not cause us to forget the great offences for which he suffered, and for which even Lord Digby says he must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he should be dispatched to the other.

Lord Clarendon introduces his account of the changes which were made in the King's counsellors previous to the Lord Strafford's trial: — That there being no fear of the Archbishop or of Lord Strafford, or of any particular men who were likely to succeed them in favour, (all who had been active in the court, or in any service for the King, being totally dispirited, and most of them disposed to any ill offices against him,) the great patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service, if they got the places and preferments of the court for themselves, and so prevent the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence. He proceeds: — That the King having been advised that he could not give a more lively and demonstrable evidence, and a more gracious instance of his intention, than by calling such persons to his counsels whom the people generally thought most inclined to, and intent upon, a reformation of all those extravagances which former necessities, or occasions, or mistakes, had brought into the government of church or state; besides that this would be a good mean to preserve the dignity and just power of that board, which might otherwise, on the account of the late excess and violation, be more subject to inconvenient attempts for the future. Whereupon, says His Lordship, were sworn privy counsellors in one day, the Earl of Hertford, afterwards created a marquis, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Bristol, the Lord Say, the Lord Saville, and the Lord Kimbolton, and soon after the Earl of Warwick; being all persons at that time very gracious to the people, or to the Scots, (by whose election and discretion, His Lordship adds, the people chose,) and had all been in some umbrage at court, and most of them in disfavour there. That Oliver St. John was also made solicitor-general, His Majesty hoping, that, being a gentleman of honourable extraction, (if, Lord Clarendon ill-naturedly adds, he had been legitimate,) he would have been very useful in the present exigence to support his service in the House of Commons, where his authority was then very great; at least that he would be ashamed ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the crown. And he adds, that he became immediately possessed of that office of great trust, and was so well qualified for it at that time by his fast and rooted malignity against the government, that he lost no credit with his party out of any apprehension or jealousy that he would change his side; and that he made good their confidence, not in the least degree abating his malignant spirit, or dissembling it; but, with the same obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the King's service, when he was his solicitor, as ever he had done before. This act, says he, the King did very cheerfully, heartily inclined to some of them as he had reason; and not apprehending any inconvenience by that act from the others, whom he thought this light of his grace would reform, or at least restrain. He adds, in another place, that the great disservice to the King, in taking these lords into his council, soon appeared as to some of them; for that instead of exercising themselves in their new provinces, and endeavouring to preserve and vindicate that jurisdiction, they looked upon themselves as preferred thither by their reputation in Parliament, and not by the kindness and esteem of the King; and so resolved to keep up, principally, the greatness of that place to which they thought they owed their own greatness : and that, therefore, when the King required the advice of his privy-council, in those matters of the highest importance which were then every day incumbent on him, the new privy-counsellors positively declared, that they ought not (that was, that nobody might) give His Majesty any advice, in matters depending in the two Houses, which was not agreeable to the sense of the Houses, which they called his great counsel, by whose wisdom he was entirely to guide himself. That as this doctrine was insipidly and perniciously urged by some, so it was supinely and stupidly submitted to by others; insomuch that the King in a moment found himself bereaved of all public assistance and advice, in a time when he needed it most; and his greatest and only business being prudently to weigh and consider what to consent to and what to deny, of such things as should be proposed to him by the two Houses, he was now told that he was only to be advised by them; which was as much as to say, that he must do whatsoever they desired of him. Whereas, adds Lord Clarendon, it is not only lawful for the privy council, but their duty, to give, faithfully and freely, their advice to the King, upon all matters concluded in parliament to which his royal assent is necessary, as well as upon any other subject whatsoever. Nay, adds he, a privy-counsellor, as such, is bound to dissuade the King from consenting to that which is prejudicial to the crown, at least to make that prejudice manifest to him, though as a private person he could wish the matter consented to.

Here His Lordship (certainly unintentionally) eulogizes those whom he evidently intends to vilify. He could not have bestowed on these new ministers a higher encomium, than by describing them as remaining wholly unaltered by their new situations, unawed and unseduced by their necessarily frequent intercourse with the King, or by the fear of disobliging him, or of losing their probably lucrative employs; and as steadily adhering to what they deemed the real united interests of the King and the nation. But His Lordship seems to think that the King's privy-counsellors were to consider themselves retained advisers of the crown exclusively, and without regard to its connection with the people. So must Lord Strafford have thought when he had quitted the popular side, and went over to the King. Had he been as steady to his first opinions and repeated declarations as these new reprobated counsellors were, he might have influenced the King to measures that might, and probably would, have prevented much of that mischief that happened to him, in consequence of his and others' evil counsel.

His Lordship treats, in his usual way, the motion which he mentions to have been made by Mr. Pym for the protestation: he supposes ill designs in the movers and promoters of it; nevertheless is obliged to acknowledge, that it was taken by the Speaker, and all the members of the House of Commons then present, and also by all the members of the House of Lords, except two; but considers the Houses as having been imposed on.

The Archbishop, after the reading at the bar of the House of Lords the articles of his impeachment, and hearing Mr. Pym's speech thereon, was committed by the House to the Tower; but no further proceedings were had thereon until some time afterwards. Lord Clarendon observing, that he was persuaded, that at that time it was so laid aside without any thought of resuming it, hoping that his age and imprisonment would have quickly freed them from further trouble.

CHAP. IV.

BILL FOR REGULATING THE COUNCIL-TABLE, AND FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE STAR-CHAMBER AND HIGH COMMISSION COURT. — LORD DIGBY CALLED TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS. — ABOLITION OF DEANS AND CHAPTERS, &C. — IMPEACHMENT OF THE JUDGES — OF WREN, BISHOP OF NORWICH, AND OTHER BISHOPS. — TREATY OF PEACE WITH SCOTLAND, CONCLUDED. — THE KING GOES TO SCOTLAND. — REMONSTRANCE OF THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM. — ADDRESS BY MR. HOLLES TO THE KING, FOR A GUARD TO THE PARLIAMENT. — IMPEACHMENT OF LORD KIMBOLTON, AND THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE COMMONS. — THE KING GOES TO THE HOUSE TO DEMAND THE FIVE MEMBERS. — RETIRES TO YORK. — THE PARLIAMENT REQUIRES THE POSSESSION OF THE ARMY AND NAVY. — REFUSED BY THE KING. — BILL PASSED FOR THE TAKING AWAY THE VOTES OF THE BISHOPS IN PARLIAMENT. — THE KING DEMANDS THE POSSESSION OF HULL — REFUSED. — THE PARLIAMENT APPOINT LORD FAIRFAX TO COMMAND THE FORCE IN YORKSHIRE. — ORDINANCE FOR SETTLING THE MILITIA PUT IN EXECUTION. — ALSO THE KING'S COMMISSION OF ARRAY. — GREAT SEAL CARRIED TO THE KING AT YORK. — ORDER FOR BRINGING IN PLATE, &C. — THE KING ERECTS HIS STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM. — MR. DENZIL HOLLES'S SPEECH UPON HIS CARRYING UP THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE ABSENT LORDS. — MR WHITELOCK'S SPEECH UPON THE COMMONS' THOUGHTS OF RAISING AN ARMY.

1641. MONDAY, May 17. The House of Commons declared, that they approved of the affection of their brethren of Scotland, in their desire of a conformity in church-government between the two nations, and gave them thanks.

Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, the lord-treasurer, resigned his staff, and the office was committed to five commissioners.

June 7. The Lords' House resuming the debate of episcopacy, voted for the bishops retaining their votes in Parliament.

June 9. A bill for regulating the council-table, and for taking away the Court of Star-chamber and the High Commission Court, was passed, and sent up to the Lords.

Lord Digby was this day called by writ to sit in the House of Lords.

June 14. The Commons resolved upon the abolishment of deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chaunters, canons and their officers, and their estates to be employed to the advancement of learning and piety, and a recompense made to the sufferers by this abolishment.

June 22. The King passed the bills for tonnage and poundage, and for the abolition of the Star-chamber and High Commission Courts.

July 9. The articles of impeachment of the Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Weston, and Baron Trevor, of high treason, and other great misdemeanours, were read in the House of Commons, and ordered to be sent to the Lords by Mr. Edward Hyde, (Lord Clarendon,) who spoke at great length at the bar of the House upon its delivery.

July 13. Lord Digby's speech upon Lord Strafford's bill of attainder censured by the Commons, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.

Articles of impeachment of Dr. Matthew Wren, the late Bishop of Norwich, for various superstitious and offensive innovations in his diocese. Also of thirteen other bishops, for acting in the convocation in the year 1640, in making constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, and granting a benevolence to the King, contrary to the King's prerogative, to the laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject.

The treaty of peace with Scotland being concluded, Rushworth gives it at length.

August 10. The King, in a speech to both Houses, after passing some bills, takes his leave of both Houses, upon his going to Scotland.

The great matter at this time in agitation was the Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, which occasioned high debates. But it was carried by a few voices after a debate that continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till three o'clock the next morning; so that one said it looked like the verdict of a starved jury.

On the 25th November the King returned to London from Scotland.

He dismissed the guard that had been appointed by the Commons to attend the Houses, in apparent displeasure, assuring them that if there should be occasion for a guard, he would order a sufficient one to secure his Parliament. The Commons thereupon assigned their reasons for desiring a guard, the substance of which was: The lurking of great numbers of disorderly, suspicious, and dangerous persons, especially Irish. — Jealousy conceived upon the discovery of a design in Scotland to surprise several of the nobility of that Parliament, with intimation of the like being intended against divers persons of both Houses in England, which was the more credible from the former attempts to bring up the army to over-run and disturb this Parliament. — From the conspiracy in Ireland, so secretly managed, that but for the providential discovery at Dublin, it had been executed in one day throughout that whole kingdom; and some of the conspirators had professed the like course was intended in England and Scotland. — From divers advices beyond the seas that there would be great alteration in religion, shortly, in these kingdoms, and that the necks of the Parliaments, England and Scotland, should be broken. — From examinations taken of dangerous speeches of the popish and discontented party in this kingdom. — From the secret meetings of the papists, and their frequent devotions for the prosperity of some great design.

December 1. The large Remonstrance and a petition were this day presented to the King at Hampton-Court, by a committe of the House of Commons; amongst whom were Lord Fairfax, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Edward Deering. This Remonstrance contained two hundred and six articles; to which the King, after some consideration, gave his answer.

The Commons dismiss the guard that had been set about the Houses without their privity, which they declare to be a breach of privilege. They then complain of the King's interference in the debates in Parliament, as an infringement of their privileges.

An address to the King, in the name of the Commons, by a committee, was verbally delivered by Mr. Denzil Holles, expressive of their apprehensions of mischievous designs and practices against the Parliament, and desiring a guard. The King expresses himself wholly ignorant of the grounds of their apprehensions, and promises his protection; but if this should not be satisfactory, he promises a guard, for which he would be responsible; but the House ordered halberds to be brought into the House for their own security.

January 3. The Attorney-General, Sir Edward Harbord, by the King's command, impeached, at the bar of the house of Lords, the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Stroud. The articles of impeachment, seven in number, were read. A committee was appointed of the Lords, to search for precedents and records touching the regularity of this accusation, and whether such an accusation might be brought into the House by the Attorney-General.

By the King's command, the sergeant-at-arms of the Lords' House demanded, at the bar of the House, the five impeached members, whom he was to arrest for high treason. The House ordered a committee to attend His Majesty, to assure him, that his message being a matter of great consequence, as concerning the privilege of Parliament, they would take it into serious and immediate consideration, and would attend him in answer in all humility and duty; and that, in the mean time, the accused members should be ready to answer any legal charge.

January 4. The five accused members came into the House after dinner, to give their attendance *de die in diem*, according to its order; when the House was informed that the King was coming with a guard of military commanders and soldiers; whereupon the House required the five accused members to depart the House, to avoid confusion, should violence be used to remove them.

Then follows, in Rushworth, the account of the King going to the House to demand the five members.

January 5. The Commons (continues Rushworth) sent Mr. Fiennes with a message to the

Lords, to give them notice of the King's coming yesterday, and that they conceived it a high and great breach of privilege; and to repeat their desire, that their Lordships would join with them in a petition to the King, that the Parliament might have a guard as should be approved by His Majesty and both Houses; and also to inform them, that they had appointed a committee to sit at Guildhall, London; and had also appointed the committee for the Irish affairs to meet there.

The Commons, upon yesterday's business, resolved, That the King's coming to the House was a high breach of the privileges of Parliament; and ordered that the House be adjourned to Tuesday next, at one o'clock in the afternoon; and a committee was named to sit at the Guildhall of the city of London to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, which was empowered to consider and resolve of all things that might concern the good and safety of the city and kingdom, and particularly how their privileges might be vindicated, and persons secured; and to consider and determine upon the affairs and relief of Ireland, and to report their proceedings to the House. Amongst the names of the committee are, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Whitelock, Lord Falkland, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Grimston, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

The House then adjourned to Tuesday, 11th January.

The same day, January 5., the King went into

London with his usual attendance, and, in his way, some people cried aloud, "Privileges of Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!"

He informed the common council, that he was come to demand the accused members, whom he believed to be concealed in the city.

January 10. The King, with the Queen and their family, left Whitehall with the whole court, went to Hampton-court, and from thence afterwards, by degrees, to York; except the Queen and Princess of Orange, who went to Holland.

January 11. In the afternoon the House of Commons, according to adjournment, with the Lord Kimbolton and the five members, went by water, guarded, to Westminster.

The next day the King sent a message to the two Houses, that finding it disputable whether his proceedings against the above members were legal, and according to the privileges of Parliament, and being very desirous of giving satisfaction in these matters, he had waived his former proceedings; and that, when the public mind was more composed, he would proceed therein in an unquestionable way. But, soon afterwards, he wholly relinquished further proceedings, and offered a free pardon to the accused persons, and all other his subjects. The House sentenced Sir Edward Herbert, for the part he had taken in this business, to be committed to the Fleet during its pleasure, disabled and made him incapable of being a member, assistant, or pleader in either House of Parliament, and of all offices, saving that of attorney-general, which he then held.

January 12. The Commons ordered two companies of the trained bands of the city to attend daily upon the House as a guard, under the command of Sergeant-major Skippon.

The King, by a message to the two Houses, desired them to state the particulars of those things they desired of him, and he would consider of them, and see whether, or how far, he ought to comply with their desires; so that, if the present distractions, which so apparently threatened the ruin of the kingdom, did not, by the blessing of Almighty God, end in a happy and blessed accommodation, His Majesty would be ready to call heaven and earth, God and man, to witness, that it had not failed on his part. In answer, the Commons assure His Majesty that they would take his propositions into immediate consideration; to enable them to do which, they desire the Peers to join them in beseeching him to raise up unto them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting the Tower, and other principal forts of the kingdom, and the whole militia thereof (the army and navy), into the hands of such persons as the Parliament might confide in, and as should be recommended to His Majesty by both Houses. With this application the King refused to comply. The form of an ordinance of both Houses was then prepared for the assembling, training, and exercising, and putting in readiness, the militia (army) of the kingdom, and a list of the names of the persons recommended by the Commons to be trusted with it, consisting of a considerable number of Peers, and several aldermen and others, for the city of London.

The Houses, in another petition to the King upon this subject of the militia, tell him, that, should he persist in his refusal, the damages and disturbances of the kingdom were such as would endure no longer delay; and that they should be enforced, for the safety of the King and his kingdoms, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both Houses, in such manner as had been propounded to him. They request him to remove evil counsellors, and to continue his abode near London. The King, in his answer, persisting in his refusal, the House resolved that the King's answer was a denial to both Houses.

Rushworth says that, in these debates respecting the militia, some thought the power to be solely in the King; others, that it was in the Parliament; and that, if the King should continue to refuse to order it according to their advice, they might by law do it without him; and this was moved to be now done. Mr. Whitelock, in his speech upon this occasion, considers the subject of this debate of the greatest concernment that ever came before the House. He conceives that the power of the militia is neither in the King nor in the Parliament only; but that, if the law had placed it any where, it was both in the King and Parliament; and that it was a wise institution of our law, not to settle this power any where, but rather to leave it *in dubio*, or *in nubibus*, that the people might be kept in ignorance thereof, as a thing not fit to be known, nor to be pryed into. That the power was not in the King only, appeared in this — that the power of money was not in him, but solely in the House; but that they must both agree, as the soldiers must be paid, or the power of the militia would be of little use. He therefore proposed the militia to be settled in such hands as the King and Parliament should agree upon, and who, he hopes, will be more careful to keep the sword sheathed than to draw it. But the majority was for settling the militia by ordinance; which passed both Houses, and appoints the several lords therein named lieutenants of the several counties, and empowers them to assemble His Majesty's subjects in their respective counties, and to train, exercise, and employ them for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions. Then follows, in Rushworth, the declaration of both Houses, presented to the King at Newmarket, of the causes of their fears. And then the King's speech to the committee of both Houses that delivered it, expressing his displeasure at its contents.

The Lords resolved in Parliament, *nemine con-*

tradicente, that the ordinance of the Lords and Commons in parliament, for the safety and defence of the kingdom and dominion of Wales, was not any way against the oath of allegiance: — that the several commissions granted under the great seal to the lieutenants of the several counties were illegal and void: — that whoever should execute any power over the militia of the kingdom and dominion of Wales, by colour of any commission of lieutenancy, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, should be accounted a disturber of the peace of the kingdom.

The King caused a proclamation to be issued, forbidding the rising, marching, muster, or exercise of any of his subjects under the authority of the above ordinance. Then follows a declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 27th of March, in answer to this proclamation, concluding with a declaration that the proclamation was void in law; and requiring obedience to the ordinance.

February 14. The King passed by commission the bills, the one for taking away the votes of the bishops in Parliament, and of all temporal jurisdictions and offices from them, and from all others in holy orders; the other for pressing of soldiers for the the service of Ireland. A message from the King was then read, mentioning various things he was ready to do and comply with, for the satisfaction of the people.

An act about this time also received the royal assent, confirming certain propositions for giving security of the rebel lands in Ireland to persons advancing money for reducing the rebels, by allotting to each adventurer a certain proportion of land, according to the sum contributed.

The House ordered all reliques, crucifixes, organs, and images in churches, to to be taken down.

The King, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Parliament to the contrary, prosecuted his journey to York, where he arrived on the 19th of the then month of February, with his sons, the Prince and Duke of York.

April 9. (1642.) The Lords and Commons declared that they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what should be evil and justly offensive, or, at the least, unnecessary and burthensome; for the effecting which, they would speedily have consultation with godly and learned divines.

A message from the King informs the Parliament of his intention to go to Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion, and to raise, in the counties near Westchester, a personal guard of 2000 foot and 200 horse, which should be armed at Westchester, from his magazine at Hull; the charge of which to be added by the Parliament to their former undertakings for that war. The Lords and Commons petition the King not to go to Ireland, for various reasons, declaring they would not consent to his raising soldiers for that purpose, and request him to leave the war to the management of the Parliament. Nevertheless, the King persisted in his determination.

On the 22d of April, the King, in person, appeared before Hull, wherein were great store of ammunition and arms, and demanded possession, which was refused; whereupon Sir John Hotham, the Governor, was, by the King's direction, proclaimed a traitor.

A letter, dated 27th of September, (1642,) from a committee of both Houses, into Yorkshire, stating that they had received information of a late meeting at Leeds, of divers worthy gentlemen and others, well affected inhabitants of Yorkshire, who had declared themselves desirous of preserving the peace of the county, and to secure His Majesty's subjects from those violent oppressions executed upon their persons and estates by the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Saville, and others, by pretence of the commission of array, and other commissions, against law; and that, for that purpurpose, they had thought upon a noble person of their county, the Lord Fairfax, to command in chief over the forces of that shire: — that, therefore, they, the committee, had received directions from both Houses of Parliament, to signify their approbation thereof. And accordingly they thereby authorised those gentlemen to draw the forces of the county together, under Lord Fairfax's conduct, to defend His Majesty's subjects against any who should oppose the same, under pretence of any commission whatsoever. And that, for the better performance thereof, they intended very soon to send down forces of horse and foot, and some experienced officers, with ample instructions; and to commend the Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Essex, desiring him to send a commission to the same effect.

As the Houses, says Rushworth, had passed an ordinance for settling the militia in such hands as they could confide in, and divers of the persons named therein had begun to put it in execution, so the King, on the contrary, charging this ordinance to be against law, and forbidding all obedience to it, did issue his commission of array to the different counties, appointing several persons of quality to array, train, and muster the people. This commission the two Houses declared to be unlawful, which caused much bickering and contention between those acting under the opposite authorities. He gives many particular instances, in some of which blood appears to have been shed.

Here follows, in Rushworth, a petition of the two Houses to the King, praying him to disband his guards, and return to his Parliament, and the King's answer of refusal, and of rejection of various propositions. And about this time, it appears that several Lords left the Parliament, and went to the King.

Propositions and orders were issued by the two Houses for bringing in money or plate, for the provision and maintenance of horse, men, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, the defence of the kingdom, and of both Houses of Parliament.

After great debates, it was resolved, July 12., (1642,) that an army should be forthwith raised, for the safety of the King's person, the defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders; and for preserving the true religion, and the laws, liberty, and peace of the kingdom; and appoints the Earl of Essex General. And a petition was prepared to move His Majesty to a good accord with his Parliament, to prevent a civil war; which was communicated first to the Lords, who, in answer, declared their concurrence therein *in omnibus*. It was then presented to the King; but a message, in the mean time, coming from the King to the House of Peers, it was determined to give no other answer to the message than the petition.

The Lords and Commons published several declarations, in which they charge the beginning of the war upon the King, and justify their taking up arms; declaring those traitors that should assist the King; who published a proclamation for suppression of the rebellion under the command of the Earl of Essex, and offer of free pardon to those who should return to their allegiance.

On the 20th of August, the King, with his forces, came before Coventry, and demanded admittance. The inhabitants expressed themselves ready to receive him with a competent guard, but not to admit his army; whereupon the King departed with his army, and, on the Monday following (the 22d), set up his standard at Nottingham.

Lord Clarendon describes the Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom as containing a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done, from the first hour of the King's coming to the crown, to that minute; with all the sharp reflections which could be made upon the King himself, the Queen, and council; and published all the unreasonable jealousies of the present government—of the introducing popery, and all other particulars that might disturb the minds of the people, which were enough discomposed. That it being too late to enter upon it the day appointed for its consideration, it was agreed so to do on the following day. That Oliver Cromwell, who at that time, says His Lordship, was little noticed, asked Lord Falkland, "Why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it?" He answered, "There would not have been time enough; for sure it would take some debate."

The other replied, "A very sorry one;" they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it. But, adds His Lordship, (Lord Clarendon,) he quickly found he was mistaken; for that the next morning, the debate being entered upon about nine of the clock, (Rushworth says three o'clock in the afternoon,) continued all that day; and candles being called for when it grew dark, (neither side being very desirous to adjourn it till the next day, though it was evident very many withdrew themselves out of pure faintness and inability to attend the conclusion,) the debate continued till it was after twelve of the clock, (Rushworth says till three o'clock,) with much passion; and the House being then divided upon the passing or not passing, it was carried in the affirmative by nine voices only. And that, upon quitting the House, the Lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell, whether there had been any debate; to which he answered, "He would take his word another time;" and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, "That if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and that he knew there were many honest men of the same resolution."

Mr. Denzil Holles (at the Restoration created Lord Holles) was appointed to deliver, verbally, to the King the Commons' address; which was expressive of their great fears of mischievous designs and practices to ruin and destroy them, and that there had been several attempts theretofore to bring destruction upon this whole body at once, and threats and menaces against particular persons:—that there was a malignant party bitterly envenomed against them, daily gathering strength and confidence, and then come to such height as had emboldened some to embrue their hands in the blood of some of the people, in the face and at the doors of His Majesty's own gates, and had given out insolent and menacing speeches against the Parliament itself:—that this had caused great distractions among the people, and much fear and apprehension in the House of Commons:—that they conceived they could not, with the safety of their own persons, upon which the safety and peace of the whole kingdom did then depend, sit any longer unarmed and unguarded;—and therefore praying His Majesty, that they might provide for their own safety by having a guard from the city of London, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex, the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's household.

The employment of Mr. Holles to deliver this address, who was not, it has been since said, ill-disposed towards the King, is another strong proof that the dangers of which the two Houses complained were not, as Lord Clarendon more than insinuates, imaginary, or artfully contrived for the purpose of working upon the fears of the people, and accomplishing their own ambitious designs, but that they were real and well founded, and ground alone sufficient to render necessary the guard they desired.

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the King going to the House of Commons to seize the five members, says, he was attended only by his own usual guard, and some few gentlemen who put themselves into their company in the way, and that he commanded all his attendants to wait at the door, and give offence to no man, himself with his nephew, the Prince Elector, only entering the House. But Rushworth speaks of a lane being made in Westminster-hall for His Majesty to pass, by the commanders, reformadors, &c. that attended him; also mentioning His Majesty going up the stairs of the House of Commons, and standing before the guard of pensioners and halberteers, who also attended the King's person: whence it is evident, that the military accompanying the King upon this occasion were much more numerous than Lord Clarendon states. The examinations referred to in the Commons' declaration upon this occasion, state the numbers with the King to have been about five hundred armed men. Ludlow says, that the King was attended, not only by his ordinary guard of pensioners, but also by those desperadoes that for some time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partisans, sword, and pistol; one of whom said, in Ludlow's hearing, "What! shall we suffer these fellows to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out:" for which words, being reproved by him, (Ludlow,) he came to him the next morning, and asked pardon. His Lordship also says, that the Speaker made no answer to the King's question, whether the five members were in the House. Rushworth relates, that he (the Speaker) answered the King, and gives the answer, and that he (Rushworth) afterwards gave the King a copy at his requisition. This answer is also mentioned by Sir Philip Warwick, to which he adds, that the King answered, "I think you are in the right." His Lordship says, that Lord Digby was the only person privy to the King's intention of going to the House, and by whose advice he upon this occasion acted.

Amongst the members named upon the committee appointed to sit at Guildhall, to consider of these proceedings, and how the Commons' privileges might be vindicated, were, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Falkland, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Grimston, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

Mr. Hume, referring to this attempt to seize the five members, speaks of it as a fatal indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil all conditions, much to the disadvantage of the court. And though the King after remitted to them the penalties of that sentence, they imputed that to the power of the Parliament; and rather remembered how the benefit of their grant had been taken from them, than by whom it was restored. So that, at the beginning of the Parliament, the city was as ill-affected to the court as the country was, and therefore chose such burgesses to sit there as had either eminently opposed the court, or had accidently been oppressed by it.

The truth is, says Lord Clarendon, in another place, it could not be expressed how great a change there appeared in the countenances and minds of all sorts of people upon these late proceedings of the King, meaning the attempt upon the five members. All that had been said of plots and conspiracies against parliament was now thought true and real; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effect of their great wisdom and foresight; the shops of the city generally shut, as if an enemy were at their gates ready to enter and to plunder them; the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed to any undertaking. On the other side, they who had with the greatest courage and alacrity opposed all their seditious practices, between grief and anger, were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was likely to follow: they were far from thinking the accused members had received much wrong; yet they thought it an unseasonable time to call them to an account for it, and that there might have been a fitter choice of persons than these accused members.

His Lordship, referring to the Commons passing the bill for settling the militia (the army and navy) of the kingdom, observes, that they called to have the bill read, which had lain so long in the House; to which they now added, the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons, into the hands of such persons as they could confide in; which was the expression, he says, they used when they had a mind to remove any man from a place of which he was justly possessed. That when this bill had been at first with much ado accepted, and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance; but now, there were few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom: so great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them: so that with little opposition it passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords.

Upon the votes the Houses sent to the King at York, with a short petition, praying the King to disband his forces, which His Lordship calls dissolving his guards, and upon the King's answer, His Lordship observes, that a man would not unprofitably spend his contemplation who upon that occasion considered the method of God's justice (a method terribly remarkable in many passages and upon many persons to be remembered in that discourse); that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. — A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power; and a bare averment of that necessity, to beget a practice to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship-money, never before known; and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, was as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the crown from the use of any power, by an ordinance never before heard of; and the same maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to the infringing the liberty of the one, made use of for the destroying the rights of the other.

The greastest enemy the King had could not have given a more unfavourable impression of the King and his advisers, than His Lordship has done in the immediately preceding observation, and in the fore-mentioned statement of their unjust treatment of the city of London. They of themselves would sufficiently account for the part the city took against the King, and for the very general hostile disposition of the nation.

Rushworth and Whitelock state the erection of the King's standard at Nottingham on the 25th August (1642), about six o'clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. That there was not one regiment of foot yet brought thither; so that the trained bands, which the sheriffs had drawn together, were all the strength the King had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York; and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. That this was the melancholy state of the King's affairs when the standard was set up. He found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his standard would have suffered it to be, and received intelligence the next day that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was, horse, foot, and cannon, at Northampton, besides a party at Coventry.

CHAP. V.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING PROPOSING AN ACCOMMODATION. — THE EARL OF ESSEX QUITS LONDON FOR THE ARMY. — FIGHT AT POWICK-BRIDGE. — BATTLE OF EDGE-HILL. — PARLIAMENT APPLIES TO THE SCOTS FOR ASSISTANCE. — TREATY AT OXFORD. — MR. HAMPDEN'S DEATH. — CROMWELL'S LETTER OF THE VICTORY NEAR GAINSBOROUGH. — LORD FAIRFAX'S DEFEAT AT ATHERTON MOOR. — DEFEAT OF THE KING'S FORCES NEAR HORN-CASTLE. — FIRST BATTLE OF NEWBURY, AND DEATH OF LORD FALKLAND. — COLONEL MONK TAKEN PRISONER. — THE QUEEN IMPEACHED OF HIGH TREASON. — MR. WALLER'S AND OTHERS' PLOT. — NEW GREAT SEAL ORDERED. — SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. — SCOTS' ARMY ENTERS ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR. — SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY. — LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TRIED AND BEHEADED. — THE TREATY OF UXBRIDGE. — SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE. — SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX APPOINTED GENERAL OF THE NEW-MODELLED ARMY. — THE BATTLE OF NASEBY. — DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP. — THE KING QUITS OXFORD, AND GOES TO THE SCOTS ARMY NEAR NEWPORT. — SURRENDER OF OXFORD. — PROPOSITIONS OF PEACE SENT TO THE KING — REJECTED. — DEATH OF THE EARL OF ESSEX. — THE KING'S ARRIVAL AT HOLMBY HOUSE.

ON the 27th of the same August (1642), Rushworth says that the King sent a message to both Houses proposing an accommodation, and, for that purpose, that some fit persons might be enabled to treat with a like number authorised by the King; to which the Houses replied, that they could not treat until the King should recall his proclamations, and declarations, denouncing them and their adherents rebels and traitors, and until his standard should be taken down, and he return to his parliament.

On the 9th September, the Earl of Essex quitted London for his head-quarters at St. Alban's, and thence to Northampton, where his forces met him, being above fifteen thousand men.

On the 22d was the fight at Powick-bridge, near Worcester, under Prince Rupert, wherein the parliament lost about thirty men, and some officers.

On Sunday, October 24., the King marched towards London, and fights the battle of Edgehill, near Kinton, in Warwickshire: each party claimed the victory, and published different accounts of the battle.

November 7., a declaration passed, to be sent to Scotland, representing the dangers they were in, and craving the assistance of the Scots.

Mr. Whitelock gives a particular account of the proceedings in a treaty with the King, at Oxford, in February in the same year, upon some propositions sent to him by the Parliament, he being one of the commissioners on the behalf of the Parliament. The commissioners were, Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Philip Earl of Pembroke and

Montgomery, William Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Earl of Holland, Thomas Viscount Wenman, and Richard Viscount Dungarvan; and Sir John Holland, Sir William Litton, William Pierrepoint, Bulstrode Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood, Esqrs. They attended the King, with the propositions, on the 1st February, 1642–3.

Whitelock observes: — In this treaty, the King manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the aguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own; and of this the parliament commissioners had experience, to their great trouble. They were often waiting on the King, and debating some points of the treaty with him until midnight, before they could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points they pressed His Majesty with their reasons, and best arguments they could use, to grant what they desired; the King said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give them his answer in writing, according to their desire; but, because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would have it drawn up the next morning, when he commanded them to wait on him again, and then he would give them his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. They went to their lodgings, full of joyful hopes to receive this answer the next morning, and which, being given, would have much conduced to a happy issue and success of this treaty; and they had the King's word for it: and they waited on him the next morning at the hour appointed; but instead of that answer which they expected, and were promised, the King gave them a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. They did humbly expostulate this with His Majesty, and pressed him upon his royal word, and the ill consequences which they feared would follow upon this his new paper. But the King told them he had altered his mind, and that this paper which he now gave them was his answer, which he was now resolved to make upon their last debate; and they could obtain no other from him, which occasioned much sadness and trouble to them. Some of his own friends, of whom the commissioners enquired touching this passage, informed them, that after they were gone from the King, and that his council were also gone away, some of his bed-chamber, (and they went higher,) hearing from him what answer he had promised, and doubting that it would tend to such an issue of the treaty as they did not wish, they being rather for the continuance of the war, they never left pressing and persuading the King, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and to give orders for his answer to be drawn as it was now delivered.

The treaty upon the King's propositions, as well as upon the commissioners', going slowly on, and their instructions being strict, and such as they could not show to the King when he desired it, he thought fit, April 12. (1643), to send a message to the Parliament during the treaty, to this effect: — That as soon as he was satisfied in his first proposition, and as soon as the members of both Houses should be restored, and that His Majesty and both Houses might be secured from tumultuous assemblies, (which he conceived could not otherwise be done but by adjourning the parliament to some place twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon,) His Majesty would consent to the disbanding of the armies, and would return speedily to his Parliament. This being intimated to the commissioners, they endeavoured to dissuade the sending it, as that which they feared might break off the treaty; and the improbability that the Houses would adjourn, and leave the city of London, their best friends and strength, and put a discontent upon them. Yet the King was prevailed with to send it, and upon the receipt of it by the Houses, they presently resolved to call away their commissioners, and sent their orders to them to return to the Parliament, which they obeyed; and so this treaty, having continued from the 4th of March to the 15th of April, was now dissolved, and all their labours and hazards become fruitless, and of no effect; and all good Englishmen, lovers of the peace of the country, were troubled and disappointed.

The treaty being thus broken off, the war, says Rushworth, was presently prosecuted with greater fury, through most parts of the nation.

Then follows an account of the most considerable actions, fought with various success, beginning with Sir William Waller's successes with the force under his command. Also an account of the action, 18th June, 1642, in Chalgrave-field, Bucks, in which the Parliament forces were defeated, and Mr. Hampden lost his life.

In the latter end of June, 1643, the better to secure Gainsborough in the Parliament's hand, Colonel Cromwell drew that way; and in a letter, given in Rushworth, informs the Parliament of his defeat of a part of the King's forces, in which General Cavendish, who commanded for the King, was slain.

June 30. Lord Fairfax was defeated at Atherton Moor, in Yorkshire, by the Earl of Newcastle.

October 11. The forces commanded by the Earl of Manchester defeated part of the Marquis (late Earl) of Newcastle's forces, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. The Earl of Manchester's horse and dragoons went on to the attack, in several bodies, singing psalms: Quarter-master Vermuden with five troops, and the forlorn hope, and Colonel Cromwell commanding the van, seconded by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The royalists' word was "Newcastle;" that of the parliament-party, "Truth and Peace." The dragoons gave the first charge, and then the horse fell in. Colonel Cromwell charged with great resolution, immediately after the dragoons of the other side had given him their first volley; yet, within half pistol-shot, they saluted him with a second charge. His horse was killed, and fell down with him; and, as he rose, he was knocked down again by the gentleman that charged him, supposed to be Sir Ingram Hopton: but he rose, and recovered a poor horse, in a soldier's hand, and so mounted again. The royal army was defeated with considerable loss.

On September 20. (1643), was the battle near Newbury, wherein the Lord Viscount Falkland, secretary of state, and other nobility, lost their lives. Rushworth and Whitelock both speak of the circumstances of Lord Falkland's death. That in the morning of the fight he called for a clean shirt; and being asked the reason of it, answered, that if he were slain in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linen. That being advised by his friends not to engage in the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he said he was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night, and could not be persuaded to the contrary; but would enter into the battle, and was there slain. General Monk was, amongst others, taken prisoner at the fight near Nantwyche, and committed to the Tower, where, after passing some time, he agreed to serve the Parliament.

April 1. An ordinance of the Lords and Commons passed, for sequestrating the estates of notorious delinquents. Also, May 5., an order for the burning the book for tolerating sports on the Lord's day.

The Queen being very industrious whilst she was in Holland, to furnish the King with arms, ammunition, &c., and being now at the head of a considerable army at York, ready to march southward, the House of Commons impeached her of high treason, at the bar of the House of Lords.

In the month of May a plot was discovered, in favour of the King, the chief actors in which were, Mr. Waller, a member of the House of Commons, and many others; and many members of both Houses of Parliament were said to be privy to it. They were found to have the authority of the King's commission under the great seal. Some of them were tried and convicted, and suffered death. Mr. Waller was condemned to die, but was reprieved: he was expelled the House; and, after paying a fine of 10,000*l.* and a year's imprisonment, was released, and went to France.

A great seal was ordered, and made to attend the Parliament, and placed in the hands of six commissioners.

Aug. 28. (1643.) An ordinance of the Lords and Commons for demolishing and removing all monuments of superstition, and for removing the communion-table from the east end of the church, and placing it in some other fit and convenient place in the body of the church, and levelling the ground upon which such communion-table stood.

Rushworth gives, at considerable length, an account of the proceedings in Scotland that gave rise to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the advance of the Scots army into England.

It was proposed, as the best means for the accomplishing of the desired union and assistance of England and Scotland, that the two nations should enter into a solemn, mutual covenant, which was accordingly done in the most public and solemn manner. It was entitled, "A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This covenant is, amongst other things, declared to be for the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, and for bringing the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising.

Amongst others who signed this covenant, are the names of the Speaker, Lenthall, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Robert Harley, Oliver Cromwell, Charles Lord Cranborne, William Lord Fitzwilliam, Sir Peter Wentworth, William Lord Monson, Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, Sir Harbottle Grimston, John Dryden, John Selden, Thomas Lord Wenman, Bulstrode Whitelock, George Montague, Denzil Holles, and Edward Montague.

Upon the 15th January (1643), the Scots army entered England, crossing the Tweed at Berwick, and published the declaration of England and Scotland, joined in arms for the vindication and defence of their religion, liberties, and laws, against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party. The Earl of Leven was the General of the army.

April 20. The English and Scots armies unite, and soon after besiege the Marquis of Newcastle in York; and, on the 2d July, defeated the King's army, commanded by Prince Rupert, at Marston-moor, near York, with the loss of all his artillery. The next morning the Marquis and his sons, and several of his friends, quitted the kingdom ; and, soon afterwards, York was surrendered.

In September, the Earl of Essex's army was defeated in Cornwall, and he obliged to quit it ; and, on the 2d October, the second battle of Newbury was fought, both sides claiming the victory.

November 20. Propositions for peace were sent to the King by the two Houses, by a committee of Lords and Commons, and of Scots commissioners.

Upon the 10th January, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded, and was interred in the church of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower of London. And, on the day the Lords passed the attainder of the Archbishop, they passed the ordinance for the abolition of the book of Common Prayer, and for establishing the directory for public worship, which had been framed by the assembly of divines.

Then follow, in Rushworth, an account of the treaty of Uxbridge upon the fore-mentioned propositions, which continued from the 29th January to the 22d February following, when the commissioners separated, without coming to any agreement.

A cessation of arms having been concluded between the King and the Irish rebels, against which the Commons had made a declaration, many of the Irish entered into the King's service. This, says Whitelock, gave occasion for many invectives and pasquils.— The Queen's army of French and

Walloon papists, and the King's army of English papists, together with the Irish rebels, were to settle the Protestant religion and the liberties of England.

The Parliament resumed the debate of an ordinance for calling in the members of both Houses from military and civil places and offices; which was read a first and second time, and committed; and on the 31st of March (1645), it being read a third time, was sent up to the Lords. The Lord General the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, in the House of Peers, surrendered their respective commissions; which being done by their own consent, the ordinance was next day freely passed by the Peers. It was called the self-denying ordinance. It declares the members of either House to be discharged, at the end of forty days from its passing, from all offices and commands, military or civil, granted or confirmed by both or either of the Houses, since the 20th November, 1645.

At different times in this month, the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, Clare, Holland, Thanet, Monmouth, and Westmorland, and the Lords Paget, Rich, Conway, and Saville, took the oaths appointed by the Parliament for such as should come in to them, before the commissioners of the great seal.

Sir Thomas Fairfax being appointed by the Parliament to command the new-modelled army, he proceeded to Windsor for that purpose, in which he was much assisted by Major-general Skippon, whose speech upon the occasion, and the great esteem of him by the officers and soldiers, produced a ready submission to the measure.

The first action entered upon, says Rushworth, by the forces of this army, was on the 24th of April, at Islip-bridge, in Oxfordshire. The committee of both kingdoms of England and Scotland, at Westminster, from whom the Parliament army was generally to receive its orders, being informed of an intended junction of part of the King's army at Oxford with Prince Rupert, who was between Worcester and Hereford, they wrote to Sir Thomas Fairfax, immediately to dispatch some horse beyond Oxford, to lie on the further side towards Worcester, to interrupt them, and hinder the King and the force with him from forming a junction with the Prince; and the charge of this service they particularly recommended to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, who was come but the night before from Salisbury to Windsor, to take his leave of the General, seeming now to be as good as discharged of all military employment by the new ordinance, which was to take effect within a few days; but receiving these commands, and a party of horse and dragoons being ordered by the General to march under his command into Oxfordshire, he met, near Islip-bridge, with a brigade of the King's horse, who engaged him; but the royalists were worsted, and, in the pursuit, many were slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners, and the Queen's standard.

The army under Sir Thomas Fairfax being ready to march, continues Rushworth, it was determined by the two Houses that it should march into the west; but it being understood that the King's army was near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, General Fairfax called a council of war; by whom it was resolved, that a letter should be sent to the Parliament, to desire them, for a time, to dispense with Lieutenant-general Cromwell's absence from the House, and that he might command their horse, an engagement being likely to happen very speedily, wherein his service might be of great use; which letter was sent by Colonel Hammond, and orders given, by votes of the House to him, forthwith to march to the army accordingly; in order to which Fairfax wrote to him the following letter, dated the 11th of the same June: —

"Sir,

"You will find by the inclosed vote of the House of Commons, a liberty given me to appoint you Lieutenant-general of the horse of this army, during such time as that House shall be pleased to dispense with your attendance. You cannot expect but that I make use of so good an advantage, as I apprehend this to be, to the public good; and therefore I desire you to make speedy repair to this army, and give order that the troops of horse you had from hence, and what other horse or dragoons can be spared from the attendance of your foot in their coming up, march hither with convenient speed; and as for any other forces you have there, I shall not need to desire you to dispose of them as you shall find most for the public advantage, which we here apprehend to be, that they march towards us by the way of Bedford. We are now quartered at Wilton, two miles from Northampton; the enemy still at Daventry. Our intelligence is, that they intend to move on Friday; but which way, we cannot yet tell. They are, as we hear, more horse than foot, and make their horse their confidence: ours shall be in God. I pray all possible haste toward your affectionate friend to serve you,

"THOMAS FAIRFAX."

On the 12th or 13th of the same June, Cromwell joined the General's army with six hundred horse and dragoons; and, on the 14th of the same month, the battle of Naseby was fought, in which the King's army, commanded by the King in person, was defeated with great loss. The particulars will be found in Rushworth. And, in consequence, it was ordered by the Commons, that Lieutenant-general Cromwell should continue Lieutenant-general of the horse under Sir Thomas

Fairfax, during the pleasure of the House, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance: to which, continues Whitelock, the Lords agreed; but altered it in point of time to be but for three months, to which the Commons, upon debate, assented. He adds, that he (Cromwell) began to increase in the favour of the people and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

In the following September, Cromwell took the Devizes by storm, and gave the garrison favourable terms. And in the following October he advanced to Winchester, which surrendered upon articles also favourable to the besieged. A complaint having been made by some of the garrison, of injuries they had sustained at their marching out of Winchester, by being plundered, contrary to the articles, by some of the Parliament's troopers, the offenders, six in number, were apprehended and tried by a council of war, and condemned to die, and after lots had been cast for their lives, and he whose lot it was had been executed, the other five were sent to Oxford with a full account of the proceeding, to Sir Thomas Glenham, the governor, to be put to death, or otherwise punished; which was so well accepted, that Sir Thomas Glenham returned the prisoners with an acknowledgment of the Lieutenant-general's civility in being so tender of the breach of articles.

Cromwell next takes by storm Basing-house, the residence of the Marquis of Winchester, and the

Marquis himself, and other places in its neighbourhood, granting liberal terms to the besieged.

An ordinance was about this time passed, for the more effectually putting in execution the Directory for public worship. It prohibits the use of the book of Common Prayer in all places of public worship and in private families, under severe penalties, and finally imprisonment. The King's proclamation followed immediately, forbidding the use of the Directory, and enjoining the continuance of the use of the Common Prayer. An ordinance also passed for the ordination of ministers, directing, amongst other things, their qualifications: —that he must be skilled in the original tongues, and trial of him to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testament, and rendering some portions of them into Latin, and enquiry to be made of his other learning, and his skill in logic and philosophy, and of the soundness of his doctrines.

In December (1645), the King, by message to both Houses, proposed a treaty which, after many messages from him, and replies by the Houses, was not proceeded in.

The House ordered 1000*l.* to purchase horses and furniture for Sir Thomas Fairfax, as an earnest of their affection: and referred it to a committee to consider how 5000*l.* per annum, formerly voted, might be settled upon him and his heirs; and ordered a letter of thanks to him. Also to consider how Lieutenant-general Cromwell might be put in possession of 2500*l.* per annum, formerly voted for him; and ordered him 500*l.* for the purchase of horses and furniture, as an earnest of the affections of the House.

Rushworth observes, that at the beginning of this year (1646) the King's affairs were reduced to a very low ebb, — the Parliament every where masters of the field, and no visible force left, able to oppose them; the royal garrisons yet remaining in the west, in no possibility of holding out long against Fairfax; and after taking them, Oxford, where the King made his residence, could not but expect to be next besieged, as Newark was then already besieged by the Scots and English forces.

The King, continues Rushworth, being at Oxford, and observing the ill fortune of his affairs, had resolved to go to the Scots army before Newark, for which he gives his reasons in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond. He says, that having received either no answer from the Houses of Parliament to his several messages, or such as argued that nothing would satisfy them but the ruin, not only of himself and his posterity and friends, but even of monarchy itself; and that having received very good security that he and all that adhered to him should be safe in their persons, honour, and consciences in the Scots army, and that they would join with him and all that should adhere to him, and employ their armies to assist him for the procuring a happy and well-grounded peace, he had resolved to put himself to the hazard of passing into the Scots army, then lying before Newark. And, accordingly, on April 27., he went privately in disguise from Oxford, and arrived at the head-quarters of the Scots army on Tuesday, May 5.; and notice thereof was given by the Scots to the English commissioners residing with that army, who immediately informed the Parliament. They voted, that the commissioners and general of the Scots army be desired that His Majesty's person be disposed of as both Houses should desire; that His Majesty be sent to Warwick Castle, and that Mr. Ashburnham and the rest of those that were with him be sent for as delinquents; and that the commissioners for the Parliament of England residing before Newark should acquaint the Scots General with these votes, and also make a narrative of the manner of the King's coming into the Scots army, and present it to the House. In this narrative, they described as a strange providence, that the King came in so private a way; that after they had made search for him upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face; and that it was matter of much astonishment to them, that he should come to any place under their power; that they conceived it not fit to enquire into the causes of this proceeding, but to endeavour that it might be improved to the best advantage by promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the League and Covenant. They declare that there had been no treaty nor capitulation between the King and them.

Immediately upon the King coming to the Scots General, Leven, he desired the King to order General Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender it, and it was accordingly surrendered to the Parliament of England; and the next day the Scots army marched northward, His Majesty being with Lieutenant-general Leslie in the van, and on the 13th May came into Newcastle. Mr. Ashburnham escaped from the Scots army.

General Fairfax, having invested Oxford, summoned the governor to surrender it, expressing his equal desire of its preservation, so famous for learning, and promising honourable terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded; the second article of which was for an honourable convoy of the Duke of York to London, where others of His Majesty's children were, and that he should have an honourable provision befitting his dignity. The third article was, liberty of removal and passes for the Princes Rupert and Maurice, with their servants, horses, and goods, to any place within fifty miles, and not less than twenty miles, from London, and there to abide for six months, without molestation by imposition of oaths or otherwise, and to have passes to go beyond the seas; and the like favourable terms were granted to the governor, soldiers, noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and other women then in Oxford. And the University was secured in its ancient form of government, and the free enjoyment of its estates; and the churches, chapels, and other public buildings to be preserved from defacement and spoil: the King's household servants desiring to go to him, to have passes for that purpose, and his household goods and other his property in Oxford to be carried to his house at Hampton Court, there to remain at his disposal. On the 24th June, Oxford was surrendered, and Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, with many gentlemen and other attendants, soon afterwards quitted the kingdom, and went to France, whither the Prince of Wales was also retired from Jersey; and the Duke of York was brought to St. James's: and in a few days upwards of two thousand passes were signed. And, surely, says Lord Clarendon, no action or agreement either of war or peace was ever more punctually observed.

The great seal and other seals of office were brought into the House and broken in pieces at the bar of the Lords House, in the presence of the whole House of Commons, and the silver given to the Speakers of the two Houses; but the privy signet and another little signet were ordered to be laid up, and the sword to be deposited in the wardrobe.

Amongst other places taken, to the garrisons of which honourable terms had been granted, was Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, after a long siege; one of the articles of whose capitulation was, that whereas by reason of the long siege many of the officers and soldiers of the garrison were grown into great necessity of such things as might enable them to march to their several dwellings, many being sick and wounded; a sum of five hundred pounds was agreed to be paid to the commissioners for the castle on the following morning, to be distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of the garrison.

The two Houses, being now, says Rushworth, possessed of the strength of the kingdom, were busy in completing their propositions for peace to to be sent to the King, which had been retarded by the disagreement of the Scots commissioners, who now concurred therein.

July 6. The Commons voted that they had no further need of the Scots army, and that the kingdom was unable to pay them longer, and desiring it might be withdrawn.

June 27. A report was made to the Commons of the propositions for peace, as returned by the Lords and Scots commissioners: they were again read and passed without any alteration; and they were then delivered to the Parliament commissioners to be taken to the King at Newcastle. The commissioners were the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Earl of Suffolk, members of the House of Peers, and Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hippisley, and Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson, Esqrs., members of the House of Commons.

The commissioners, upon their arrival at Newcastle, delivered the propositions to the King, and the King demanded whether they had any power to treat, who answering that they had not, he replied, Then, saving the honour of the business, an honest trumpeter might have done as much.

The commissioners, says Rushworth, attended His Majesty, and pressed him to agree to their propositions; but he could not be prevailed on to give his assent, and returned his answer in a paper delivered to them, not agreeing to those propositions, but offering others.

Rushworth observes, that the King's great abilities appeared very conspicuously in these proceedings at Newcastle, being at a time when he could not have the assistance of his chaplains.

The commissioners, upon their return, reported to the Houses their proceedings, and this answer of the King to the propositions, and had their thanks.

They ordered, says Whitelock, that the Marchioness of Winchester should be at liberty to make use of any of her country-houses for her health, and to lie-in there. And afterwards an allowance of ten pounds per week for herself and the Marquis her husband.

August 12. The commissioners for Scotland presented to the House of Peers a paper, wherein, in answer to the Parliament of England's desire of the Scots army withdrawing from thence, they declare their willingness forthwith to surrender the garrisons they possess in England, which they had kept for no other end than the safety and security of their forces; and without delay to recall their army; reasonable satisfaction being to be given for their pains, hazards, charges, and sufferings; whereof a competent portion to be presently paid to the army before their disbanding, and security to be given for the remainder, at such times thereafter as should be mutually agreed on. The Lords returned the commissioners thanks, and the next day communicated the paper to the Commons, who, taking it into consideration, ordered a sum of one hundred thousand pounds to be provided for the advance of the Scots army into Scotland, and engaged that their arrears should be audited and paid in convenient time. And after much altercation and debate, the accounts were finally settled, and a certain sum paid to them.

On the 14th September, the Earl of Essex died at Essex-house, in the Strand. Both Houses assisted at his interment, towards which they ordered five thousand pounds to be paid to his executors.

September 18. The House of Commons took into consideration the care of the King's person, which they resolved should be by both Houses, and directed this resolution to be communicated to the Scots commissioners, who claimed a joint right in such disposition, and divers conferences were had thereon, and much altercation and disagreement ensued.

A message was sent by the Lords to the Commons, that Colonel George Monk, who was a prisoner to the Parliament, had taken the solemn league and covenant, and was also ready to take the negative oath, and conceiving him to be a fit person to be employed in the service in Ireland, in respect of his valour and abilities in martial affairs, desired he might have a commission for that service, to which the House of Commons agreed, and a commission was granted.

December 22. The Lords voted, that the King, being now in England, might come to Newmarket; there to remain with such attendants as both Houses should appoint; but the Commons did not concur with the Lords, and therefore voted that Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, would be the most proper place, if agreeable to him, there to abide, with such attendants as both Houses should appoint. Accordingly, the House of Commons, with the concurrence of the Lords, appointed commissioners to receive the King from the Scots, and to bring him to Holmby. The commissioners were, — for the Lords, the Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Denbigh, and Lord Montagu: for the Commons, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter

Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. John Crew, and Major-general Brown.

Saturday, 30th January (1646-7). The Scots marched out of Newcastle, and General Skippon took possession of it; and the Parliament commissioners received the King; and soon afterwards went forwards with him to Durham, and so on to Holmby, where he arrived February 16.

Neal, in his preface to the third volume of his History of the Puritans, observes, that the state of the controversy was entirely changed in the time of the civil wars; for that, after the coming in of the Scots, the puritans did not fight for a reformation of the hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of religious liberty to all peaceable subjects, but for the same spiritual power the bishops had exercised; for that, when they had got rid of the oppression of the spiritual courts, under which they had groaned almost forty years, they were setting up a number of presbyterial consistories in all the parishes of England, equally burdensome and oppressive.

An ordinance passed, regulating the ordination of ministers, and requiring certain qualifications in learning, and soundness of doctrine.

The Directory, according to Rushworth, about this time, became the established form of public worship, instead of the Common Prayer, the use whereof was prohibited, even in private families, under severe penalties: and the hierarchy of bishops being abolished, the presbyterial government, in every congregation, with subordination to classical, provincial, and national assemblies and elders, chosen according to certain regulations, became the ecclesiastical government of the country, in exclusion of all other religious distinctions. Thus the presbyterian party in the Commons, in effect, restored the act of uniformity; and, in their turn, became persecutors, equally with the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, of all who differed from them in doctrine or discipline; verifying the observation, that every religious sect, in power, are persecutors more or less; being, as Mr. Hume says, upon another occasion, ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. And Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, observes, that these were the first fruits of presbyterian uniformity; and were equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the then late times.

Lord Clarendon and Whitelock give their different accounts of the treaty at Uxbridge between the King's commissioners and those of the Parliament; and Whitelock, one of them, concludes his account with stating that the King's commissioners thought the advantage much on their part, that longer time to treat was denied by the Parliament; and gave it out, that if that had been granted, there would have been a happy issue of the treaty. But that those of the other side affirmed that there could be no expectation of a good issue, or inducement for the Parliament to grant longer time, when not one of the Parliament's propositions was granted by the King during the whole time of its continuance. He adds, that various judgments were passed by all persons according to their own fancies or interests; and that most sober men lamented the sudden breach of it. There does not appear any ground for the censure His Lordship pronounces upon the Parliament, in attributing to them its failure: each party acted according to the best of their judgments in adhering to their own terms, whence the impossibility of a successful termination. And as to the advantage the King's commissioners supposed the King's cause to have derived from the refusal of the Parliament of a prolongation of the treaty, it appears from Lord Clarendon, that the object of the proposal of such extension was with a hope of creating divisions in the Parliament, and delaying the new-modelling the Parliament army, and to afford time to the King to make his preparations for the continuance of the war. The Parliament were probably aware of the view of the King's party in proposing this extension, and the improbability of its answering any valuable purpose, and therefore refused it.

In the King's correspondence with the Queen, found in the King's cabinet taken at Naseby, he says, he has good hope, that if he could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder him from a good peace, because their own party were almost weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at that time most assuredly were amongst themselves, as presbyterians against independents in religion, and General against General in point of command. That, as to his calling those at London a Parliament, he should refer her to Digby for particular satisfaction of this in general: if, says he, there had been but two besides himself of his opinion, he had not done it; and that the argument that prevailed with him was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament. Upon which condition and construction he did, and no otherwise; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation. That it was improbable that the present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, if not contrariety, of grounds that were betwixt the rebels' propositions and his; and that he could not alter his, nor would they ever theirs, till they should be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by her (the Queen's) means would soon make them be; for that he was confident if ever he could put them to a defensive, which a reasonable sum of money would do, they would be easily brought to reason.

In a letter from the King, dated 15–25. February, 1644, he says, "The limited days for treating are almost expired, without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world; and I assure thee that thou needst not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well rememberest; and in this, not only their obedience, but their judgments concur." He adds, "In short there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends; and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament." In another letter he authorises the Queen to promise the repeal of all penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God should enable him to do it, whereby he might have so powerful assistance as might deserve so great a favour.

In another letter he mentions his having had a good parting with the Lords and Commons at Oxford. "Now," says he, "if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for, I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, knowing there were great labourings for that purpose; but now, I promise thee, if it be renewed, which I believe will not without some eminent success on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage; I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, that is to say, our mongrel Parliaments here, as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee for having suffered thee to be vexed by them."

Whitelock relates, that the letters, taken in the King's cabinet, were read in the House, and that in some of them was mention of his intention to make a peace with the Irish rebels, and to have 40,000 of them into England to prosecute the war here. That in others he complains that he could not prevail with his mongrel Parliament at Oxford to vote that the Parliament at Westminster was not a lawful Parliament; that he would not make peace with the rebels (the Parliament) without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she sent him. That upon the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the Parliament, it being otherwise to be construed; though they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the King's council, that he did not acknowledge them a Parliament.

Whatever hopes the Parliament might have entertained of a favourable issue of the Uxbridge treaty, none could remain of a successful termination of any future negociation with the King, after their possession of the Naseby papers. He constantly, in these papers, styles the Parliament rebels. He, as it were, apologises to the Queen for calling them a Parliament, satisfying her that it would not amount to an acknowledgment by him of their being one; his view in so calling them, appearing in the fore-mentioned private entry made, by his direction, in the council-book. This secret reservation could have been made with no other view than to afford him, the King, the means of disengaging himself from all or any part of this treaty, when it might be in his power, upon the pretence of the legal incapacity of the Parliament, as such, to treat with him, or to enter into any binding engagements. This would have been a very dishonourable evasion; but surely the above expressions afford no other construction? This construction is farther supported by the acknowledgment of the King's commissioners at the conclusion of (as Lord Clarendon describes it) a sharp debate with the Parliament's commissioners, that the King treated with them because it was not in his power to punish them as rebels: from whence no doubt can be entertained of his determination to exercise that power if ever he should acquire it.

Mr. Hume, referring to this secret reservation, says, This subtilty, which has been frequently attributed to Charles, is the most noted of those very instances from which the enemies of this Prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of insincerity; and inferred that the Parliament could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, not even in his laws and statutes. There is, however, adds he, it must be confessed, a difference universally avowed between simply giving to men the appellation which they assume, and the formal acknowledgment of their title to it; nor is any thing more common and familiar in all public transactions.

Had this secret reservation been on the Parliament side, it had afforded a fine field for the application of Mr. Hume's favourite epithet of hypocrisy; enough could not have been said to expose this, he would have called, crafty policy. He would have discovered something more than he affects to do in the King's giving to the Parliament this their own appellation. In any case it would, perhaps, be difficult to discern the difference between the calling a body of men by the name such body should appropriate to itself, and the acknowledgment of such body to be what they denominate themselves. But in the present instance, the Parliament, before they would consent to a treaty, required the King's acknowledgment of their being a Parliament, and therefore a body legally capable of treating, and agreeing, and entering into such engagements as should be legally binding upon both the King and themselves; and they would not stir without that acknowledgment. The King, to obviate this difficulty, which he found was an indispensable preliminary to the commencement of the treaty, with evidently great reluctance, (which was sufficient of itself to alarm the Parliament, and to determine them to insist upon it as the basis of the treaty,) consents to the acknowledgment; but secretly reserves to himself, and records, a power of withdrawing it for the purpose, there can be no doubt, of affording him an opportunity of annulling his engagements with the Parliament when he should find himself sufficiently strong so to do, upon the ground and pretext of their not being a legal body, with whom to make any binding engagement. This Mr. Hume must surely have seen to be the object of this secret reservation, and as such incapable of defence.

The King does not expect to bring the Parliament to terms but by a force, which he hopes to receive from the Queen. He tells her that his commissioners will not recede from his instructions; and he declares his intention of putting an end to the then, as he calls it, perpetual Parliament, so soon as it should be in his power. He authorises the Queen to call in the assistance of the Catholics; and promises, in recompense of their assistance, the repeal of all the penal laws against them.

After these disclosures the Parliament could not, with any confidence, treat with the King; the motives on both sides for engaging in the subsequent treaties must have been to give to the nation the appearance of moderation, but secretly without hope of a successful termination.

Rushworth observes, that there were about this time, the latter end of the year 1646, warm debates between the Parliament and the Scots commissioners, respecting the possession of the King's person, the Parliament claiming the sole power thereof, the Scots the joint power with the Parliament.

28th December (1646). Both Houses, says Whitelock, agreed that there should be no further treaty with the King; and the Commons voted,—That the King coming to Holmby House, and the Scots army gone out of the kingdom, the two Houses would then join with the Scots in using all possible means to persuade the King to pass the propositions, and if he refused, that then the Houses would do nothing that might break the union and affection of the two kingdoms. Whereupon a declaration was sent up to the Lords, and with it the ordinances for sale of the bishops' lands, and for taking away the court of wards, to be sent to the King as additional propositions; to which the Lords agreed.

CHAP. VI.

PARLIAMENT'S RESOLUTION TO DISBAND THE ARMY.—THE ARMY CLAIM A RIGHT OF PETITIONING.—APPOINTMENT AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE AGITATORS.—REMOVAL OF THE KING FROM HOLMBY HOUSE.—THE ARMY REFUSE TO DISBAND BUT UPON CERTAIN CONDITIONS.—THEIR DECLARATIONS AND REMONSTRANCES.—THEIR CHARGE AGAINST ELEVEN MEMBERS.—FORCE UPON THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MANY OF THE MEMBERS QUIT THE HOUSE, AND RETIRE TO THE ARMY.—THE ARMY BRING THEM BACK TO THE HOUSE.—PROPOSITIONS OF BOTH HOUSES SENT TO THE KING AT HAMPTON COURT.—COMMITMENT AND IMPEACHMENT OF MEMBERS CONCERNED IN THE FORCE UPON THE HOUSE.—THE KING'S ANSWER TO THE PROPOSITIONS.—THE KING'S ESCAPE TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT FROM HAMPTON COURT.—CUSTODY OF THE GREAT SEAL.—DUKE OF YORK'S ESCAPE.—SCOTS ARMY ENTER THE KINGDOM.—DEFEATED.—THE TREATY OF NEWPORT.—REMOVAL OF THE KING TO HURST CASTLE.—EXCLUSION FROM THE HOUSE, BY THE ARMY, OF MANY MEMBERS.—NEW GREAT SEAL.—TRIAL OF THE KING.—HIS DEATH.

APRIL 1. (1647.) The Commons, says Rushworth, voted that the civil government of Ireland should be thenceforth distinct from the military, and should be by two Lords-Justices as formerly: that the military should be by a commander-in-chief, who should be directed by commissioners on the place.

Lieutenant-general Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Lieutenant-colonel Pride, and other officers, attended the House, in obedience to a letter from the House to the General, when the Speaker acquainted Colonel Pride that the House had been informed that he had read a petition, of which the House had an ill sense, at the head of Colonel Harley's regiment; and that threatening speeches had been given out, that those who would not subscribe it should be cashiered the army. Colonel Pride denied the reading the petition at the head of that regiment, and the threatening speeches used, and the whole charge, as did the others; with which the House was satisfied, and desired them to be careful to suppress it, and that they should go down to the army to their several commands. Sir Thomas Fairfax, in answer to the above letter from the House, informed the Speaker, that, in consequence, he had ordered the officers quartered in those parts (Walden, in Essex,) to meet at his quarters, where, having communicated the Speaker's letter, they did generally express a very deep sense of their unhappiness in being so misunderstood in their intentions, which were no other than by way of petition to represent those inconveniences which would necessarily befall most of the army after disbanding; desiring that as much as the General should judge fit and reasonable might be submissively made known to the House of Commons, assuring him that they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should judge reasonable to offer the House, or to grant on their behalf: that he trusted the army would ever manifest their affection to the public by their constant perseverance in their accustomed obedience to all their commands.

April 2. The House voted that the commander of the forces in Ireland should be styled Field-marshal, and be allowed 6*l.* *per diem*, and appointed Major-general Skippon such field-marshal, and Colonel Massey lieutenant-general of the horse under him.

A petition against the army from Essex was complained of as having been read in several churches, on the preceding day, by the ministers, to get hands to it. The soldiers, especially the horse, appeared to have been much troubled, and complain why they should not be heard in petitioning, when they saw petitions in their own quarters subscribed in an indirect manner against them; and the horse thereabout talked of drawing to a rendezvous, to compose something for vindication.

The House, upon information of this petition, and that it was contrived and first promoted in London, and sent privately into Essex, to get hands to it, to show its dislike to such petitioning, and the great discontent it might occasion in the army in that juncture of time, ordered that the knights of the shire for that county, and for Suffolk and Norfolk, should write to the inhabitants to desist, and to inform them that the Houses were upon a way to dispose of the army as might be most advantageous to the whole kingdom. These petitions were for the speedy disbanding the army.

The soldiers in North Wales appear to have mutinied on account of their arrears of pay, refusing to be disbanded till payment. A petition was also read in the House from the reduced officers under Lord Fairfax's command, most of whom had raised their troops at their own charge, and upon disbanding had not their two months' pay, or fifth part paid them, as others had; and a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, on their behalf, having been read, a part was ordered to be paid them.

Rushworth relates at large the proceedings of the commissioners from the Parliament, with the several regiments quartered at Walden, to induce them to go to Ireland.

April 27. The Commons, says Rushworth, having received a message from the Peers, took into consideration the disbanding the army, and after a long debate, resolved that the army, horse and foot, should be disbanded with all convenient speed, and that six weeks' pay should be given to them upon their disbanding. Whereupon the officers presented to the House a vindication of their proceedings, which Rushworth gives at length. They therein assert their right of petitioning, in common with their fellow-subjects; nevertheless intending not to present their petition but with the approbation of their ever-honoured General, knowing how watchful their enemies were to make the hardest constructions of all their actions, and represent them to the Parliament and to the world under such terms as might render them most odious. The principal objects of this vindication are, — indemnity for their proceedings in the late war, as soldiers, for which they assign their reasons; and the payment of their arrears at the time of disbanding.

The House determined to add a fortnight's pay to the six weeks' pay already ordered, upon disbanding, and a fortnight's additional pay to those who should determine to go to Ireland. And after long debate passed the ordinance for the indemnity of the soldiers for all things done by sea or land during the late wars; which afterwards passed the Lords.

May 15. Information came from Walden of the result of the debates between the Parliament's commissioners and the officers and soldiers. The soldiers desired to choose committees from amongst themselves out of every troop and company, to confer together upon the votes of the House, for the satisfaction of the soldiers, for arrears, and for indemnity, and for discovering the distempers of the army. The committee of troopers met at St. Edmundsbury; and the foot, who chose two out of every company, and them to confer with the troopers; and every foot-soldier gave four-pence a-piece towards defraying the charges of that meeting. Their several returns having been made to the officers, they repaired to the head-quarters therewith, and informed that they found no distemper in the army, but grievances many; and because some regiments differed from others in making known their respective sufferings, it was referred to a committee of general officers to contract into a method what was propounded in general as the sense of the whole army; and that, if any particular thing was desired by one regiment which was waved by another, it might not be accepted or presented as the sense of the whole army. The officers accordingly concurred in a draft so formed out of the whole, that all the grievances the army complained of were distinctly set down therein, in the names of the officers and soldiers of the army, and was presented to Field-marshal Skippon, desiring him to present it to the Parliament; that a construction might be had of their proceedings, they meddling with nothing but what pertained to them as soldiers.

On the 8th of the same May, a letter from the King to both Houses was read: it was long, and, says Rushworth, well penned. In it he gives his answer to the several propositions sent to him at Newcastle. It was agreed to take it into consideration on a future day.

Upon receiving from the Parliament commissioners with the army an account of their proceedings, the Commons resolved, that all the forces of the kingdom not subscribing for the service of Ireland should be disbanded, excepting those for the garrisons; and referred it to the committee at Derby House to consider of the time and manner of disbanding them.

Upon the commissioners coming to town and making their report, the House ordered the speedy audit of the soldiers' arrears, and a visible security to be given for so much as should not be paid off upon their disbanding.

The soldiers being still dissatisfied, the House resolved that the common soldiers should have all their arrears, deducting for free-quarters, according to the ordinary rules of the army; and the subordinate officers not in commission the like; and the commission officers one month's pay more added to the two months' pay formerly voted; and, it was ordered, that the declaration of the Parliament against the army be rased out of the journals of both Houses, which was done.

From Chelmsford came intelligence, that the General's own regiment, of their own accord, were come away with their colours and drums, nearer the army; and that another regiment took away their colours without their colonel's consent.

Intelligence was brought to the House on Saturday, June 5., of the removal of the King from Holmby-house, by Cornet Joyce, and a party of horse, on that day.

The Houses were informed that the rendezvous of the army had been held near Kenford, six miles from Bury St. Edmund's; seven regiments of foot and six of horse appeared. The General also sent them the grounds, inclosed in a letter from the soldiers to himself, for their undertaking the King's removal of themselves; which were chiefly that they had intimation of a design, which they were able to make good, of some, to surprise the King; — that, at the rendezvous, a petition was presented to the General, in the name of the soldiers, the substance whereof was, that they could not be satisfied with their arrears, or other returns, unless they had assurance that their enemies should not be their judges for the future, which it was believed they would insist on; and then follows an humble representation of the dissatisfaction of the army in relation to the late resolutions for so sudden disbanding, showing the particulars of their former grievances, which yet remained unsatisfied; and a solemn engagement of the army, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, entered into at the general rendezvous near Newmarket, on the 5th of June, 1657, in which they declare their readiness to disband when required by the Parliament, or to engage in further service in England or Ireland, first having satisfaction of their grievances, and security, that when disbanded, and in the condition of private men, they should not remain subject to the oppression, injury, or abuse to which they had been subjected whilst an army; and, after entering into some further particulars in explanation of their desires, they proceed to give, what they call an impartial narration, concerning the army's preservation of the King, to show that the army did thereby intend the good, life, property, and liberty of all the Commons of England, meaning the removal of the King from Holmby-house.

January 8. (1647.) The Houses passed an ordinance for allowing recreations to scholars, apprentices, and servants, with permission of their masters, on every second Tuesday in the month; and all festivals, called holidays, abolished.

The King having been taken to Newmarket by his own desire, the council of war appointed Triploc-heath, five miles from Cambridge, instead of Newmarket, for the intended rendezvous of the army.

Letters came to the House from the commissioners with the King, and a narrative of the passages between His Majesty and Sir Thomas Fairfax and the commissioners, June 7., at Childersley, the Lady Cutts's house, that the General, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-general Ireton, Lieutenant-general Hammond, and divers other officers of the army, went to Childersley, according to the King's desire; that upon their arrival, the

King went into the garden, and the General and his officers, and the commissioners, went together, and conferred upon the whole carriage of the business; that the commissioners seemed much dissatisfied; that the King coming towards them, the General and the commissioners came to him, and Cornet Joyce was called before them. The King charged them all, saying, that Joyce said he had the commission of the whole army for what he did; and by consequence had the General's, he being the principal party of the army. The Cornet replied, and did avow that he told His Majesty, that he had not the General's commission, when the King did particularly demand of him. Whereupon the King publicly said to the whole company, "That it was true, indeed, he did say so; and that it was likewise true, that all the gentlemen that were mounted on horseback did cry out, giving their approbation to what he had said: but," said the King, "I was, notwithstanding, persuaded that he could not venture to attempt such a thing as to bring me away, for it was treason; but that he had the countenance of greater persons." Then it was much pressed by some of the commissioners against Joyce, that he deserved to lose his head for what he had done, in bringing the King and the commissioners away without their consent. Whereupon Cornet Joyce replied, "May it please Your Majesty, as to the army's warranting my proceedings, let it be drawn to a rendezvous, let me appear there before them, and let the question be put, whether they approve of my action in removing His Majesty from Holmby; if three or four parts of the army do not approve what I have said, I will be content to be hanged at the head of the army." He further added, that the King gave his consent to come, and said he would go, whether the commissioners would or no. "Yea," said the King and the commissioners, "you told us that we should go, and it was in vain for us not to consent."—"But," said the King, "Joyce, though it be great treason in what you have done, yet I will pardon it now I am come: I had the promise of those gentlemen to be conveyed to Newmarket, and therefore I expect to go there to-morrow." Whereupon, after some other discourse, the General promised he should go. Upon which His Majesty prepared for Newmarket, and the General went to Cambridge, and sent Colonel Whalley to guard the King and the commissioners to Newmarket, to which place he went the following day.

On the 10th of the same month, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in a letter, gives the Commons an account of the proceedings of the rendezvous at Triploc-heath, accompanied by the army's resolutions, in two papers, unanimously agreed on by the officers and soldiers; — that he finds in one of them, with which the Parliament's late proceedings since the resolution of disbanding, may have given satisfaction; but that the army having then no knowledge thereof, it was thus passed and delivered to him, which he could not therefore but send to them. You may see, then, says he, in what they did then remain unsatisfied.

On the 11th of the same month of June, the army advanced nearer London: the head-quarters were at St. Albans; the Houses desired that it might not advance within forty miles.

The army addressed a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, dated at Royston, the 10th of the same June, wherein, after referring to their letters and other addresses, presented by their General to the House of Commons, wherein they had endeavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of their just demands, they proceed: — "For the things we insist on as Englishmen, and surely our being soldiers hath not stripped us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so, — we desire a settlement of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of Parliament; which, before we took up arms, were by the Parliament used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out, some of which have lost their lives in this war; which being, by God's blessing, finished, we think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see a happy settlement, as we have to our money, and the other common interest of soldiers, which we have insisted upon. We also find the ingenuous and honest people in almost all the parts of the kingdom where we come full of the sense of ruin and misery, if the army should be disbanded before the peace of the kingdom, and those other things before mentioned should have a full and perfect settlement. We have said before, and profess it now, we desire no alteration of the civil government. We desire not to intermeddle with, or in the least to interrupt, the settling of the presbyterian government. Nor do we seek to open a way to licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess as ever, in these things, when the State have once made a settlement, we have nothing to say, but to submit or suffer; only, we could wish, that every good citizen, and every man that walks peaceably, in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, may have liberty and encouragement, it being according to the just policy of all states, even to justice itself.

" These, in brief, are our desires, and the things for which we stand, beyond which we shall not go; and for the obtaining of these things we are drawing near your city, professing sincerely from our hearts we intend no evil towards you, declaring with all confidence and assurance, that if you appear not, against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked party that would embroil us and the kingdom, not we nor our soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of parliaments, or to the hurt of this, in order to the present settlement of of the kingdom. We seek the good of all, and we shall here wait, or remove to a further distance, there to abide, if once we be assured that a speedy settlement of things be in hand, until they be accomplished: which done, we shall be most ready, all of us, or so many of the army as the Parliament shall think fit, to disband, or go for Ireland. And although you may suppose that a rich city may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof, yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it: and we can say this for most of them, for your better assurance, that they so little value their pay in comparison of higher concernments to a public good, that rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity, which hath suffered by the men they aim at and desire justice upon, or want the settlement of the kingdom's peace and theirs, with their fellow-subjects' liberties, they will lose all; which may be a strong assurance to you that it is not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare that they may attain. You shall do like fellow-subjects and brethren, if that you solicit the Parliament for them on their behalf.

"If, after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to or hinderance of these our just undertakings, we hope by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity whereof we call God to witness, we have freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and populous city, having thereby washed our hands thereof." This letter is signed by the General Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, and several other of the principal officers.

The House of Commons sat very late this night upon the business of the army; and it was ordered that letters be sent to the General from both Houses, to desire that the army might not come within twenty-five miles of the city.

Friday, 11th June. It was ordered by the Lords and Commons, that all such officers or soldiers as should come off and conform to the votes sent down to the army should receive the benefit of those votes.

The Parliament commissioners arriving at Cambridge, the General and his officers attended them, to whom they communicated the above votes, desiring to be advised of the proper mode of communicating them to the army. And on the afternoon of the following Thursday, the army being drawn up to a rendezvous within four miles of Royston, they (the General and commissioners) began with the General's regiment of horse, to whom the votes were read. Major-general Skippon then made a short speech to the regiment, moving that the votes might take a deep impression upon them for the advantage of the kingdom. Then an officer returned the answer, that the regiment did desire that there might be an answer returned, after the perusal of the votes, by some select officers and agitators, whom the regiment had chosen; and that it was the motion of the regiment.

The officers desired the General and the commissioners to give leave to ask the whole regiment if this were their answer; to which the whole regiment cried, "All, all." Then he put the question, that if any men were of a contrary mind they should say, No; and not one man gave his No. The agitators on the behalf of the soldiers pressed to have the question put, Whether the regiment did acquiesce, and were satisfied with the votes? but the other way being the more orderly, and that they might, after perusal, proceed more deliberately, the question was laid aside; and, indeed, says Rushworth, had it been put, it would not have received one voice in the affirmative, such was the unanimity of the officers and soldiers in that regiment. And this brief account, says he, may serve for the several regiments, horse, foot, and dragoons, this day at the rendezvous. After the commissioners had done reading the votes, and speaking to each regiment, and received their answer, the regiment cried out, "Justice! justice!"

This night the head-quarters were at Royston.

June 12. This day the common-council of London came to a resolution to send a letter to the General and officers of the army, in answer to theirs, and also to send down some of their members to treat with the General and officers, that a right understanding and fair correspondence might be between the army and the city. Then follows their answer, referring to the army's letter to the city: and it was very conciliatory; but desiring, that as the army's approach might increase the price of victuals, and encourage discontented persons to make ill use of it, and raise tumults, they had determined not to quarter within thirty miles.

More commissioners were sent by the House to the army, and their instructions enlarged, to know of the army what their particular desires were, and what would give them satisfaction.

Information from the General that the army was advanced to St. Albans, and desiring a month's pay, that they might not be burdensome to the country; but nothing done therein.

On the 15th of the same month of June, the Houses ordered, That the General be required to deliver the person of the King to such persons as both Houses should appoint, to be placed at Richmond, under such guards, and in such manner as they should think fit; to the intent that the propositions agreed upon by both kingdoms might be speedily presented to His Majesty, for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace.

That the persons to whom the General is required to deliver the person of the King, to be placed at Richmond, shall be the commissioners formerly appointed to receive the person of the King at Newcastle, or to any three of them.

That the guards appointed to receive the orders and directions of the commissioners, in attending and guarding the person of the King, shall be Colonel Rossiter and his regiment.

The House ordered that the officers that had not their accounts stated, and were in town, should have a month's pay of their arrears for their subsistence: that those in town, whose accounts were stated, should have six weeks' present subsistence. It was referred to the committee of indemnity, to consider of such officers as were under restraint for any thing done *tempore et loco belli*, to discharge them if they saw cause, and to discharge such others as should be arrested or imprisoned for the future.

This day letters were read in both Houses from the commissioners with the army, informing that the votes concerning those that would come away from the army did much distaste the soldiery, and that there would be speedy answer given by the General and army, to what was contained in their additional instructions; whereof he would give the House timely notice. And, accordingly, the Commons received a letter from the commissioners late at night, with a declaration inclosed. The common-council had also another letter brought by their commissioners: — much love expressed; a good correspondency desired; no forces to be raised by the city; and a copy of the declaration, which was read in the court of common-council, and a letter, was ordered to be returned by the same commissioners, with leave from the Houses to assure them of no forces raising against them, and that they had moved the Parliament for monies to pay the army, that they might withdraw farther from the city. Then follows the declaration, which is entitled A Declaration or Representation from His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and of the army under his command, humbly tendered to the Parliament. It is expressed at the conclusion, to be by the appointment of His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the officers of his army. It is very long, and states the grievances of the army and of the nation, and proposes their redress, in a number of articles, one of which is for purging the House of Commons of such members, as for their delinquency, or for corruptions or abuse to the State, or by undue elections, ought not to sit there.

June 16. This day came to the House from the General (Fairfax) and the officers and soldiers of the army, a charge against eleven members, of obstructing the business of Ireland; of acting against the army and against the laws and liberties of the subject; and obstructing of justice. The members charged were, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-general Massey, Mr. Glynn, Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nichols. Then follows the charge against these members, whom they desired might be immediately suspended from sitting in the House. Upon reading the charge in the House, the members, severally, made some defence, and desired it might be put into a speedy way of trial. A month's pay was ordered to the army, and required to retreat forty miles from London.

The King, says Rushworth, still at Newmarket, very pleasant and cheerful, and takes his recreation daily at tennis. He seems to delight much in the company and discourse of Cornet Joyce, and sent a messenger to St. Albans for him to come to Newmarket.

June 22. An ordinance passed both Houses, to continue for one year, for raising 60,000*l.* per month towards the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland.

Then follows an humble remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the army under his command concerning the present state of affairs, relative to themselves and the kingdom, with their desires and present resolutions thereupon. — Presented to the commissioners at St. Albans, to be by them humbly represented to the Parliament.

June 25. The debate was resumed in the Commons upon the charge against the eleven members, when the House resolved, that by the law of the land, no judgment could be given to suspend them from sitting in the House, upon the papers presented from the army, before the particulars should be produced and proof made: and that it did not appear that any thing had been said or done within the Commons' House, by any of the members in question touching any matters contained in the papers sent from the army, for which the House could in justice suspend them.

June 26. Letters were read to the House from Sir Thomas Fairfax, informing of the army's near advance towards London, with the grounds thereof. And that they did not intend to awe the Parliament or the city; renewing their desires of the suspension of the accused members, undertaking that they (the army) would give in a more particular charge, with the proofs and attestations in support thereof. The head-quarters were then at Uxbridge, and the King was at the Earl of Salisbury's at Hatfield.

The accused members, upon their own request, left the House this day; and the army, in consequence, waved further proceedings against them. But the accused members desired of the House a speedy trial; and the House accordingly ordered the particular charge of the army to be brought in; which was soon afterwards done.

July 2. The army removed from Uxbridge to Wycombe, the General finding that the Houses had taken into consideration the propositions from the army and made some satisfactory progress. The General appointed Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-general Ireton, Colonel Fleetwood, and other officers of the army, to treat with the commissioners of Parliament upon the desires of the army; and the head-quarters were removed to Reading, and the King went to the Lord Craven's house near Cavertham. The commissioners of the Parliament present at the treaty, were, says Rushworth, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Wharton, Field-marshal Skippon, Sir Henry Vane, jun., Sir Thomas Widdrington, Colonel White, Mr. Thomas Sçawen, and Mr. Thomas Povey. Of the commissioners of the army, Commissary-general Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Rich, Colonel Lambert, and Major Desborow.

July 9. This day the following letter was read in both Houses from Sir Thomas Fairfax: —

"Mr. Speaker; — I was sent unto by the King on Friday last, to desire the Parliament to give way to him to see his children, and that they might, for that purpose, be sent to him. If I may be bold humbly to offer my opinion, I think the allowance of such a thing may be without the least prejudice to the kingdom, and yet gain more upon

His Majesty than denying it; and if it be in the prayers of every good man that his heart may be gained, the performance of such civilities to him is very suitable to those desires, and will bear well with all men, who (if they can imagine it to be their own case) cannot but be sorry, if His Majesty's natural affection to his children in so small a thing should not be complied with; and if any question should be concerning the assurance of their return, I shall engage for their return within what time the Parliament shall limit.

"Upon this occasion, give me leave, I beseech you, to take notice of some reports spread abroad, as if myself, and the officers of the army, were upon some underhand contract, or bargain, with the King; and from thence occasion is taken to slander our integrity, and endeavour a misunderstanding betwixt the Parliament and their army; the fidelity of which to the Parliament and kingdom, and their affection to it, are the great objects of many men's envy, because they see nothing so likely to settle right and freedom, with truth and peace to us and our posterity, and to hinder their designs against the same, as an harmony and good accord between the Parliament and army; which is the joy of good men, and it shall be our study to preserve, against all designs and designers to the contrary.

"To prevent, therefore, all misunderstandings of that kind, I thought with all clearness to declare unto you, that we have done nothing, nor shall do any thing, which we desire to hide from you or the world, or shall not avow to the faces of our greatest adversaries.

"Our desires concerning a just consideration and settlement of the King's right, (His Majesty first giving his concurrence to settle and secure the rights and liberties of the kingdoms,) we have already publicly declared, in our representation and remonstrance. Since the first of those papers sent unto the Parliament, there have been several officers of the army, upon several occasions, sent to His Majesty; the first to present him a copy of the representation, and, after that, some others to tender him a copy of a remonstrance; upon both which the officers sent were appointed to clear the sense and intention of any thing in either paper, whereupon His Majesty might make any question. Since then, there have also been some officers at several times sent to His Majesty about his remove from Hatfield, to dissuade, if possible, from Windsor, or any place so near London, to some place of further distance, answerable to what we had desired of the Parliament. In all which addresses to His Majesty, we care not who knows what hath been said or done; for as we have nothing to bargain for, or ask, either from His Majesty or the Parliament, for advantage of ourselves or any particular party, or interest of our own, so in all these addresses to His Majesty, we have utterly disclaimed and disavowed any such thing; but the only intent and effect of those our addresses hath been to desire His Majesty's free concurrence with the Parliament for establishing and securing the common rights and liberties, and settling the peace of the kingdom, and to assure him that (the public being so provided for with such His Majesty's concurrence) it is fully agreeable to our principles, and we should be desirous and endeavour that (with and in such settling of the public) the rights of His Majesty's royal family should be also provided for, so as a lasting peace and agreement might be settled in this nation; and that, as we had publicly declared for the same in general terms, so if things came to a way of settlement, we should not be wanting (in our spheres) to own that general desire, in any particulars of natural or civil right to His Majesty's person or family, which might not prejudice, or again endanger the public; and, in the mean time, that His Majesty should find all personal civilities and respects from us, with all reasonable freedom that might stand with safety, and with the trust or charge lying upon us concerning his person.

"You have here the utmost sum of what hath passed from us to His Majesty, and we could wish all men did rightly understand (without misrepresentation) every particular, wherein (as we know nothing not agreeable to reason, justice, honesty, or conscience, so) we thought ourselves concerned the rather to say and do as we have, towards His Majesty, since he came within our quarters; because of those common prejudices suggested against us, as if we were utter enemies to monarchy and all civil order or government. And for that particular of the Duke of Richmond, and the two chaplains lately permitted to attend His Majesty, it was not done without much reluctancy, because therein we doubted we might be misunderstood by the kingdom's best friends.

"But upon His Majesty's continuing importunity first, as a thing very nearly concerning his inward and outward contentment, and conceiving those persons such (as we hoped) would not do ill offices to prejudice the peace of the kingdom, we did give way to it, and the persons, before they came, had notice of permission. And as we then thought, so we still do think, that to allow him some such company of persons least dangerous, whom former acquaintance may make him take pleasure in, and the allowance of some such chaplains of his own, are things both reasonable and just, and the debarring of that liberty in the latter, we doubt will but make him more prejudiced against other ministers.

"In general, we humbly conceive, that to avoid all harshness, and afford all kind usage to His Majesty's person in things consisting with the peace and safety of the kingdom, is the most Christian, honourable, and prudent way. And in all things (as the representation and remonstrance of the army doth express) we think that tender, equitable, and moderate dealing, both towards His Majesty, his royal family, and his late party, (so far as may stand with safety to the kingdom, and security to our common rights and liberties,) is the most hopeful course to take away the seeds of war or future feuds amongst us for posterity, and to procure a lasting peace and agreement in this now distracted nation: to the effecting and settling whereof (with a secure provision first to be made for the common rights and liberties of the kingdom, and a due care to preserve and propagate the gospel of truth and peace amongst us) we shall hope that neither the Parliament nor His Majesty will be wanting. And if God shall see it good to make us any way instrumental thereunto, or that we may otherwise see the same accomplished, we shall then think ourselves indeed discharged from the public engagements we have been called out unto, more clearly and effectually than (before such things were settled) we could have thought ourselves to be; and to demonstrate our clearness from seeking self-advantages in what we did, we shall henceforth account it our greatest happiness and honour (if God see it good) to be disengaged and dismissed, not only from our military charges, but from all other matters of power, or public employment whatsoever.

" I have in these things spoke not in my own name alone but in the name (because I find it to be the clear sense of the generality, or, at the least, of the most considerable part) of the army; and I am confident you and the kingdom will never find it otherwise. I shall leave it to your favourable construction, and commit all to the goodness of God for a happy issue.

"I remain your humble Servant,
"THOMAS FAIRFAX.

"*Reading, July* 8. 1647."

Monday, July 12. The House of Commons voted, after debate, the charge against the eleven members to be a charge; and that they should give in their answer by Monday next, when the House would consider of putting it into some speedy way of trial, as desired.

The Houses consented to the Duke of York, and the rest of the King's children, visiting the King for two days, accompanied by the Earl of Northumberland.

July 16. The King's children came to Maidenham the preceding day, at the Greyhound inn, where the King met them and dined, and they accompanied him to Caversham in the evening. Two troops only of Colonel Whalley's horse guarded them.

Saturday, July 17th. The Houses ordered the land-forces in England and Wales, in the pay of the Parliament, to be under the immediate command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, for the security and peace of the kingdom, the reduction of Ireland, and the disbanding such as should be determined by both Houses to be disbanded.

Monday, 19. This day, according to former order, the eleven impeached members, all of them present, presented a paper to the House of Commons, in answer to the articles of impeachment of the army; being a demurrer thereto. And the House at their request gave them leave of absence for the present.

Letters this day came from the Parliament commissioners in the army to the House, accompanying proposals of the General and council of war. Also a letter from the army to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council.

Monday, July 26. The House of Commons having adjourned until the next day, and the Speaker rising out of his chair, and the members quitting the House, divers petitioners entered the House, and desired them to sit again, and the Speaker returning to his chair, and the members sitting in their places, the petitioners desired them to vote that the King's majesty should come to London: which was resolved upon the question accordingly. And then the House adjourned till Friday then next, as did the Lords the same day.

Intelligence coming to the city of the approach of the army, preparations were made for its defence.

Friday, July 30. The Houses met, according to their above adjournment, but the Speakers of neither House appeared, and, therefore, after long waiting, the Commons chose Mr. Pelham, a counsellor of Lincoln's Inn and a member of the House to be Speaker *pro tempore;* and the Lords chose Lord Grey in the place of the Earl of Manchester; and the Sergeant at Arms being absent with the mace, they (the Commons) appointed another to supply his place, and had the city-mace for their present use.

The House then proceeded to debate on the present great affairs of the kingdom, and voted,—That the King come to London; that the militia of the city have full power to raise such forces as they should think fit for its defence; and that they make choice of a commander-in-chief to be approved of by the House, who was to present other officers to be approved of by the militia. The city appointed Major-general Massey commander-in-chief; and the reformadors and other officers, &c. were ordered to appear in St. James's Fields to be enlisted, and the forces already enlisted for the defence of the city to be put into a regimental way.

A letter came from Sir Thomas Fairfax to the city, complaining of the late great violence put upon the House, which had been encouraged by many of the common-council, and demanding the bringing to justice the offenders.

July 31. According to the above order for enlisting, there was a great appearance of reformadors and officers in St. James's Fields, and orders were given for detaining and enlisting of horses: and this day most of the eleven accused members sat in the House, and the shops in the city were ordered to be shut, and in the evening the House was informed that one of the Block-houses near Gravesend had been secured by a party of the army. Then follows, in Rushworth, a very long declaration of the city, in justification of their own conduct in these proceedings. Then a petition to the King by the Lords and Commons, requesting him to come to London, where he should be with honour, freedom, and safety, and where they, with the commissioners for Scotland, would make their addresses to him for a safe and well-grounded peace. And it was declared that the order putting under Sir Thomas Fairfax's command all the land-forces in the pay of Parliament did not extend to give him any power over the trained bands' garrisons. The care of the King's children was committed to the Lord Mayor of the city of London, and a committee for the safety of the kingdom was appointed, consisting of members of both Houses.

A letter was addressed by both Houses to Sir Thomas Fairfax, referring to a letter from him to their commissioners with the army, which concludes with forbidding the army's nearer approach to London. Then follow the heads of proposals of the council of the army to be tendered to the Parliament's commissioners for the clearing and securing the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and the settling a just and lasting peace. Amongst these proposals is one; that the taking of the covenant be not enforced, nor any penalty imposed on the refusers; whereby persons might be constrained to take it against their judgments or consciences, and that all ordinances tending to such compulsion be repealed. And that, after provision made for settling and securing the rights, liberties, and peace and safety of the kingdom, His Majesty, the Queen, and royal issue might be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom, without diminution to their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the regal power.

August 2. The General's head-quarters were at Colnbrook, and the King was at Stoke Abbey, near Windsor. The Earls of Manchester and Warwick sent to the General, that they and most of the members had quitted the Houses; for that there could, as things were, be no free Parliament, and that their Lordships had retired into Essex, and intended shortly to be with the General, casting themselves upon his protection; and accordingly they and many other of the Lords, and many of the House of Commons, came to the head-quarters.

August 3. The army had a rendezvous on Hounslow-heath, at which were present the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent, the Lords Grey of Werk, Howard of Escrick, Wharton, Say and Sele, and Mulgrave, and others of the House of Peers; the Speaker of the House of Commons, and about one hundred members of that House.

This morning, August 4., a letter from the city of London to the General was presented to him at his then head-quarters at Isleworth, to the following effect: — That observing from the army's declaration that the chief object of its approach to the city was the bringing back those members of both Houses, who, in consequence of the tumult at Westminster, had retired themselves, to the end they might be placed in safety and in free Parliament at Westminster, they cheerfully and heartily joined with His Excellency therein, and that accordingly he should find all parts and passes open to their reception, and sufficient guards for conducting them to the two Houses.

Then follows an engagement of the Lords and Commons that went to the army, some of whom sat in the House in the Speaker's absence, which is dated the same 4th August, declaring their adherence to the General and the army, in the vindication of the honour and freedom of Parliament.

This engagement is signed by the Earl of Manchester, as Speaker of the House of Peers, and by the Earls of Salisbury, Denbigh, Northumberland, and other Peers. And by Mr. Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Lisle, and fifty-six other Commoners.

On the morning of Friday, August 6., the General with the Lords, the Speaker of the House of

Commons, the members of the House, and many other gentry, marched towards Westminster, attended by part of the army, and the members took their seats in their respective Houses, and passed an ordinance for appointing Sir Thomas Fairfax constable of the Tower of Lordon for one year: to whom the Houses gave their thanks, and ordered the army a month's pay for this great service; and appointed a committee to enquire into the causes and authors of the violence upon the House. And a day of thanksgiving was appointed to be observed in Westminster Abbey. The Lords also resolved that all things done by the members since the Speakers and other members were driven away from the Parliament should be annulled and of none effect.

Then, in Rushworth, follows a declaration and remonstrance from Scotland with their resolutions and intentions, according to their solemn league and covenant, to establish the Presbyterian government in the church; to redeem His Majesty from the hands of schismatics, and to place him in his Parliament with honour and safety; to procure the peace of the three kingdoms; to vindicate the worthy members of Parliament falsely impeached by the army, with the true privileges of Parliament and liberty of the subject. All which, say they, are not only endangered, but by likelihood ready to be destroyed by the power of an overruling tyrannical army under the conduct of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

August 17. The Commons resumed the debate of the declaration of the Lords against the proceedings of the House, as acting under a force which held very long; when at length the question was put, that it should be declared that what was then done was forced, and that sitting no free parliament; but it was carried in the negative by three voices.

On the 19th August a remonstrance to both Houses from the army was received from Sir Thomas Fairfax against this resolution of the Commons, the principal object of which was, the purging the Parliament by expelling such members as acted and voted in the time of the violence upon the House. The House of Commons had the remonstrance read, but came to no resolution. But on the following day, an ordinance passed both Houses, declaring all votes, orders, and ordinances, since the force on both Houses, null and void; and, upon the report of the committee appointed to examine into the force upon the Parliament, impeachments of high treason were ordered of several of the offenders.

The King, says Rushworth, had been several days at Oatlands, where he had been much visited by citizens and others. That he had left Oatlands, and gone to Hampton Court, and afterwards to Sion House, and dined there with the Duke of

York and the rest of the princes, and returned to Oatlands.

August 25. The propositions for peace passed both Houses, and were ordered to be communicated immediately to the Scots commissioners residing in England, and afterwards sent to His Majesty, by commissioners from both Houses. They were the same as those sent to him at Newcastle. And the Scots commissioners concurring therein, they were forwarded to the commissioners with the King at Hampton Court, with instructions to receive his answer within six days.

It appearing from the report of the committee of enquiry into the late force upon the Parliament, that several of the impeached members had been concerned, summonses were directed to Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir John Maynard, Major-general Massey, Colonel Walter Long, Sergeant Glynn, and Mr. Anthony Nichols, members of the House, to attend the House; and Mr. Recorder Sergeant Glynn appearing, made his defence, when it appearing that he had been very active in the proceedings in London for a new war, and in encouraging the riotous petitioners and otherwise, he was by vote discharged from being longer a member of the House, and committed to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of the Houses. Sir John Maynard, for a similar offence, was in like manner discharged from the House, and committed to the Tower, and directed to be impeached of high treason. The House also voted impeachments of high treason against James Earl of Suffolk, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, John Lord Hunsden, William Lord Maynard, Theobald Earl of Lincoln, George Lord Berkley, and James Earl of Middlesex, for levying war against the King, Parliament, and kingdom; who were impeached accordingly at the bar of the House of Lords.

September 8. This day, says Rushworth, Master Biddle's book against the Deity of the three persons in the Trinity was burned, according to the order of Parliament.

September 14. The King's answer to the Parliament's propositions was read in both Houses. It continues his objections to many of them, and prefers the propositions of the army that had been presented to the Parliament commissioners residing with the army, and which he had seen, as much more conducive to the satisfaction of all interests, and a fitter foundation for a lasting peace. He therefore proposes the Houses' consideration of these proposals of the army, upon which there might be a personal treaty with him, to which commissioners from the army might be admitted.

September 22. The Houses took into consideration this answer, and, after much debate, determined it to be a flat denial; and, on a subsequent day, after a long debate, they resolved to enter directly into the consideration of the settlement of the kingdom, by establishing such additional laws as might make for the present and future good of the kingdom, turning the propositions into bills and acts.

September 24th. The Commons this day further debated the propositions, and whether they should once more send the propositions to the King, and resolved that they would once more make application to him for his assent to such things in the propositions as they conceived would most make for the good of the kingdom. With which view it was voted that the propositions for taking away bishops, &c. with some alterations, and concerning declarations and proclamations against the Parliament, should be forthwith drawn into bills, and sent to His Majesty for his assent.

The Lords ordered the continuance of the allowance of eight hundred pounds per annum to Usher, late Archbishop of Armagh, out of the lands of the bishopric of Durham, and sent it to the Commons for their concurrence; but they allowed him only one hundred pounds a quarter, until he should be otherwise provided for by some living or benefice.

Upon the most pressing solicitations of the army for the arrears of their pay, the Commons declared they should be paid out of the produce of the sale of the bishopric lands after the present engagements thereon should be satisfied.

November 1. A further paper of proposals was this day received from the agitators of the five regiments, and from those of four other regiments of horse and seven regiments of foot, joining with them.—The first article related to the regulation of elections of members of parliament; the second to limit the continuance of the then parliament; the third for biennial parliaments; the fourth declares the power of parliaments; another declaring that matters of religion and the ways of God's worship were not at all entrusted by them to any human power, because therein they could not admit or exceed a tittle of what their consciences dictated to be the mind of God, without wilful sin. Nevertheless, that the public way of instructing the nation, so it were not compulsive, was referred to their (the Parliament's) discretion. These things they declare to be their native rights, which they were resolved to maintain with their utmost possibilities.

Tuesday, November 2. The removing of the head-quarters of the army, as was intended, was again waved for a while, and the King continued at Hampton Court.

Tuesday, November 9. A letter of this date was read this day in the House of Commons, from Sir Thomas Fairfax; that being very much troubled at the sad distractions of the kingdom for want of pay, and for such other necessary satisfaction as they had long waited for, and not taking much pleasure in saying whence the cause of all this trouble came, he would use his endeavour to give a timely and effectual remedy to so much thereof as was of nearest concernment to him, and had therefore thought fit to inform the House that, by the advice of the general council of the army, he had appointed a rendezvous very speedily, and that they had very unanimously offered to repair to their several charges, and improve to their utmost endeavours with the several regiments for the quieting them, and recovering the ancient discipline of the army; thereby to render it more serviceable to the Parliament and kingdom. He then offers the particulars inclosed in the letter. Six weeks' pay, if possible; if not, a month's pay, presently sent down to the army; — the arrears to be paid out of the remainder of bishops' lands, &c.; — the Houses to make provision for constant pay, and then they would make it death to take free quarter.

The Commons, upon debate of this business of monies for the army, ordered a sum of money to be advanced.

Thursday, November 11. (1647.) This night, says Rushworth, came the unexpected news of His Majesty's escape from Hampton Court. About nine of the clock the officers, who attended him, wondered he came not forth of his chamber to supper, where he had been writing the most part of the night before, went in and missed him, within half an hour after his departure. Posts were sent to all parts of the kingdom to discover and stay him. It was not known which way he went. And on the following day a letter was read in the House of Commons, from Lieutenant-general Cromwell, dated at twelve at night, directed to the Speaker, acquainting him of the King's withdrawing himself at nine the last night. The manner was variously reported; and, says Rushworth, we will say little of it at present, but that His Majesty was expected at supper, when the commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him; whereupon they entered the room, and found he had left his cloak behind, in the gallery in the private way. He passed by the back stairs and vault towards the water-side. He left some letters upon the table in his withdrawing room, of his own hand-writing, whereof one was to the commissioners of Parliament attending him, to be communicated to both Houses, assigning his reasons for the step he had taken; and on Monday, November 15., both Houses received letters from Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, informing of the King being with him.

Tuesday, November 16. This day both Houses received letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax, informing of the rendezvous of part of the army yesterday, in a field called Corkbush field, between Hertford and Ware, Hertford being the head-quarters; and notwithstanding the endeavours of Major

Scott and others to animate the soldiers to stand to a paper called the Agreement of the People, they generally, by many acclamations, declared their affections and resolutions to adhere to the General; and as many as could in the short time allowed them, signed an agreement of their readiness to observe the orders of the General and council of the army. Some of the officers were committed for inciting the soldiers to mutiny; and some of the mutineers were tried and condemned to death, and one of them shot at the head of his regiment. A further rendezvous was appointed near Windsor, and at Kingston.

Both Houses had a conference upon the General's letters, and thanks were ordered him, and determined upon present pay of the army, and provision for the future. Also ordered 5000*l.* to be forthwith advanced for the King's present necessities and accommodation. Also ordered his household to be dissolved; and referred to a committee to consider of proper persons to attend him.

Thursday, November 18. Letters from Colonel Hammond to both Houses respecting the King; in which he observes that the accommodations of the King were not suitable to his quality, and desiring better provision to be made.

Friday, November 19. Lieutenant-general Cromwell informed the House of the proceedings of the late rendezvous at Kingston, and how, by

God's great mercy, and the endeavours of His Excellency and officers of the army, the army was in a very good condition and obedience to His Excellency and to the superior officers of the army, and submission to the authority of Parliament; for which the House gave him their thanks.

The House ordered that Lieutenant-general Cromwell should be desired to declare to His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, that the House would be at all times ready to receive, and give such answer, as was fitting in a parliamentary way, to such humble addresses as should be made from the army to the Houses by His Excellency.

A letter was read from the King, proposing a personal treaty at London upon certain terms.

The King, in a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, acknowledges the kind liberty he had afforded him of the use of his chaplains.

December 20. The House resumed the consideration of the representation of the army, and agreed to the security desired for the soldiers' arrears.

Monday, January 3. The House of Commons, says Rushworth, sat very close, until late at night, upon debate of the King's last message; and the result was, that no satisfaction having been given as to the desire of Parliament of passing the bills, which was required by the Houses previous to entering upon a treaty, and no inclination appearing in His Majesty for a composure in that way, but the offer barely of a personal treaty, it was put to the question — Whether any more addresses should be made to His Majesty? And the House resolved, That no more addresses be made from the Parliament to the King, nor any letters or messages be received from him: that it should be treason to deliver any message to the King, or receive any letter or message from him, without leave from both Houses of Parliament: that the members of both Houses of the committees of both kingdoms have power to sit and act alone, as formerly the committees of both kingdoms had done, for the safety of the kingdoms: that the Earl of Kent be added to this committee in the place of the Earl of Essex deceased, and Sir John Evelyn and Mr. Fiennes, in the place of Sir Philip Stapleton deceased, and of Mr. Glynn, then in the Tower: that a committee be nominated to draw up a declaration, to be published, to satisfy the kingdom of the reason of the passing these votes: lastly, that the concurrence of the Lords be desired to these votes, which was given.

Then follows a declaration of Sir Thomas Fairfax and the general council of the army, concluding: "Thus we account that great business of a settlement of the kingdom and security of the public interest, by and with the King's concurrence, to be brought to so clear a trial, as that upon the King's denial of those things, we can see no further hopes of settlement or security that way. And therefore understanding, that upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many other, the honourable House of Commons, by several votes upon Monday last have resolved: Not to make any further address or application to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to suffer either in others; we do freely and unanimously declare, for ourselves and the army, that we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with and stand by the Parliament in the things voted on Monday last concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing the Parliament and kingdom without the King and against him, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

Then follows, in Rushworth, the Parliament's declaration, wherefore no further addresses should be made to the King, of considerable length, and going through all the transactions of the King's reign.

March 2. The custody of the Great Seal was committed, by order of the House, to the Earl of Kent, the Lord Grey of Werk, Sir Thomas Widdrington, recorder of the city of York, and Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq., for twelve months.

March 7. An ordinance was this day read in the House of Commons, and passed, settling part of the Earl of Worcester's estates upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell and his heirs, of the yearly value of 2500*l*., according to the votes long since past, in recompence for the great extraordinary services done by him to this kingdom, and to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

March 24. The Commons ordered 2000*l*. to be advanced for the repair of the public library of the University of Cambridge, for the countenancing, advancing, and maintaining of learning, out of the revenues of the deans and chapters. Also, 500*l*. for the purchase of books in the original tongues, for the library of the same University.

April 21. (1648.) The House was informed of the escape of the Duke of York from St. James's, leaving there his brother and sister, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth.

April 24. The House called over their members, when the number that sat in the House was three hundred and six. And determined, after much debate, that the government of the kingdom should still be by King, Lords, and Commons; and that the groundwork should be the propositions last presented to the King, at Hampton Court; and desired the Lords' concurrence.

May 1. Lieutenant-general Cromwell ordered, by the General and council of war at Windsor, to go to South Wales, with some regiments of horse and foot.

May 3. A paper was read in the House of Commons from Scotland, containing the desires or demands of its Parliament: — that the King might come nearer to London: that a personal treaty might be had with him: that the independent schismatic army might be disbanded: suppression of anabaptists, separatists, and independents, and no toleration allowed them: the covenant to be enforced: the settlement and establishment of the presbyterian government. The Commons, after debating these particulars, declared their resolution to preserve and maintain the covenant, and the treaties between England and Scotland; and their readiness to join with Scotland in the propositions agreed upon, and presented to the King at Hampton Court.

May 24. The Commons, after much debate, determined, That after the King should have signed the bills, to be tendered to him, for settling the militia and the presbyterian government, and recalled all his declarations, proclamations, &c., against the Parliament, a treaty should be had with him upon the rest of the propositions, with the concurrence of Scotland; and ordered the discharge of all the accused members of both Houses.

July 15. Lieutenant-general Cromwell, by letters, informed the General and the committee at Derby House of the surrender to him of Pembroke Castle, and of his intention to march his army towards the north to join Major-general Lambert, to fight the Scots army that had entered the kingdom. And then follows a letter from Duke Hamilton, the General of the Scots forces, to

Major-general Lambert, upon that occasion; that the Scots Parliament, upon consideration of the imminent danger to religion, His Majesty's sacred person, and the peace of his kingdoms, from the prevailing power of sectaries and their adherents in England, did lately send to the Parliament of England such demands as they conceived just and necessary; that the committee of the estates of the Parliament of Scotland had commanded him (the Duke), and other noble personages joined with him, to prosecute their just desires, in pursuance of the ends of the covenant; according to the joint declarations of both kingdoms, for settling religion, liberating His Majesty from his base imprisonment, freeing the Houses from such constraints as had been by forces long upon them, disbanding of all the armies, and for the procurement of a settlement of a solid peace and firm union betwixt the kingdoms. And he (the Duke) expects that he (General Lambert) will not oppose their pious, loyal, and necessary undertaking, but rather join with them in the prosecution of their ends. To this the General answered by a denial of these charges, and informing the Duke of his determination to oppose with all his power all invasions of the kingdom.

July 28. The House, after many and long debates, on several days, determined upon the question, whether the House would adhere to their first vote; namely, that the King should sign the three propositions before the treaty, by resolving in the negative: and the Commons thus concurring with the Lords for a personal treaty, they determined that it should be in the Isle of Wight, with the King, by commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, upon the Hampton-Court propositions; in which the Lords concurred, and to which the King consented, and Newport was determined to be the place of treaty.

August 21. Intelligence came of Lieutenant-general Cromwell's defeat of the Scots army, near Preston, in Lancashire, and the taking the Duke prisoner.

The names of the commissioners appointed by the Parliament were the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Middlesex, and the Lord Say; Mr. Holles, the Lord Wenman, Mr. William Pierrepoint, Sir Henry Vane, jun., Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. Crew, Mr. Recorder Glynn, Sir John Potts, and Mr. Bulkeley.

Upon the arrival of the Parliament commissioners in the Isle of Wight, the King caused a fast to be kept with the lords, bishops, and the rest of his household and attendants, for a blessing upon the treaty: the book of Common Prayer was read, with an additional prayer for His Majesty's special direction. After which he received the Parliament commissioners, and appointed Monday morning, September 18., for the commencement of the treaty. It continued to Monday, November 27., when it terminated unsuccessfully. Rushworth gives the proceedings at large.

Pending these proceedings in the treaty, the following transactions took place. Information came that all things had been agreed in Scotland, and all were to lay down their arms; Berwick and Carlisle to be delivered to Lieutenant-general Cromwell; a Parliament to be called, and none that had been in the engagement against England to be of it.

The following letter was addressed to Cromwell by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, by command of the committee of estates: —

"Sir; — We have received your letter of the 21st instant (Sept.), from Northam, wherein you are pleased to acquaint us with your care to prevent for the future the disorder of some soldiers that came from England into this kingdom without your order; the resolution you have taken for the orderly entertainment of the remaining forces which are of your old regiments; for which, and the many civilities and respects you have showed to this kingdom, we do return you very hearty thanks. We have now agreed upon some articles with those forces at Stirling, which our commissioners are appointed to communicate to you. It has been our chief study therein, carefully to avoid every thing which might import an accession to the guilt of the late engagement, and to avoid every thing which might give any ground of jealousy to the kingdom of England. Orders are given for disbanding all the Scottish forces on the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, and delivering the towns for the use of the Parliament of England, as you will be acquainted by our commissioners. As we have reason to acknowledge the great mercy of God in the many seasonable deliverances of both kingdoms, so we are sensible of the advantage that hath come unto us by the near distance of your forces at this time, when the common enemy was ready to have multiplied the troubles of both kingdoms; whereof we shall always study to be mindful, and to contribute our utmost endeavours, upon all occasions, for the preservation of the union, and continuing a happy correspondence between the kingdoms. In which firm resolution we rest, Sir, your humble servant,

"LOUDON, Cr."

This letter is addressed to the Honourable Lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, commander-in-chief of the forces of the Parliament, upon the Borders, and is dated September 28. 1648.

Letters from Lieutenant-general Cromwell's head-quarters, upon the army's march out of Scotland, informing of his arrival at Edinburgh, and his honourable reception there.

October 18. Information came from the General, become (by the death of his father) Lord Fairfax, of the proceedings of the army, and of petitions promoting amongst the soldiers, respecting their arrears of pay and other grievances; and in which, amongst other of their desires, they desire speedy justice upon all criminal persons, and especially upon such who had or should endeavour to obstruct the course thereof, or had betrayed their trust; or been authors of shedding that innocent blood which called to Heaven for vengeance; and that the same fault might have the same punishment in the person of king or lord, as in the poorest commoner; and that a petition had been presented to the General from Colonel Ingoldstry's regiment, desiring that, for the reasons contained therein, justice be done upon the principal invaders of the people's liberties, namely, the King and his party.

November 20. Was presented to the House of Commons the large remonstrance of the army, accompanied by a letter from Lord Fairfax, requesting the House's immediate attention to it. They (the army) conceive the Parliament to have abundant cause to lay aside all further proceedings in the treaty, and to return to their votes of non-addresses, and settle with or against the King, that he might come no more to government; and that they should proceed against the King in a way of justice; to fix a peremptory day for the Prince of Wales and Duke of York to render themselves, or to be declared incapable of government, or any right in England, and to stand exiled for ever as traitors. Then follow several articles for terminating the then present Parliament, and for the future calling of annual or biennial parliaments, and regulating the election of members, and the powers of the Parliament; and that no King should be thereafter admitted, but upon the election of, and as upon trust from the people, by their representatives.

November 27. The House being informed, by a letter from Colonel Hammond, that the General had required him to attend him (the General) at the head-quarters, and that Colonel Ewers was appointed to take the care of the King in the Isle of Wight, they, upon debate, ordered the continuance of Colonel Hammond's attendance upon his charge. Nevertheless, the House was soon afterwards informed, that Colonel Ewers had the custody of His Majesty, and that Colonel Hammond was on his way to the head-quarters at Windsor; and a letter came from Colonel Hammond, from Farnham Castle, with a copy of the order from the general council of the army; and their letter to Colonel Ewers and others, for securing His Majesty's person in the Isle of Wight. The House ordered Lord Fairfax to be informed that these proceedings were contrary to their instructions given to Colonel Hammond, and directed him to recall those orders, and Colonel Hammond to return to his charge.

November 30. The House, after much debate, determined not to take into speedy consideration the remonstrance of the army.

At the head-quarters, a declaration was agreed on in full council, in further prosecution of the ends of the above remonstrance, and to declare the army's resolution to march to London, and the reasons of that determination. Lord Fairfax also by letter informed the lord mayor, and common council of London, of this intention, and requires them to be ready to raise 40,000*l.* to pay the army.

The King was about this time removed, by the army's order, from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle. It appears from the narrative of this transaction, that the King had an opportunity to escape, but refused to make the attempt, saying, "That they, meaning the Parliament, had promised him, and he had promised them." He also urged the difficulty, if not impossibility, of accomplishing it, and the consequence, should he miscarry,—his exasperating the army, and the disheartening his friends. "Nay," says he, "what if the army should seize me? they must preserve me for their own sakes; for no party can secure their own interest without joining me with it." To which the Earl of Lindsay replied, "Take heed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton-Court, where your escape was your best security.

December 2. The General, with several regiments of horse and foot, marched to London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, and other places.

December 5. Upon debate of the King's concessions in the treaty of the Isle of Wight, which continued the whole day and night, it was voted, that His Majesty's concessions to the propositions of the Parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom, and appointed a committee to confer with the General and the officers of his army, for a continuance of a good correspondency between the Parliament and the army.

December 6. Colonel Rich's regiment of horse, and Colonel Pride's foot, was a guard to the Parliament, and the city trained bands discharged; and several members were seized and kept in custody, by the special order of the General and council of the army; of which the House, then sitting, being informed, they ordered the Sergeant-at-arms to go to the seized members, then under a guard in the Queen's court and court of wards, and to require their immediate attendance in the House. The Sergeant, upon his return, informed the House, that the captain of the guard had orders to secure them, which he was to obey before any other command, and therefore could not release them: a committee was thereupon ordered to attend the General and council of the army, to enquire the cause of this restraint of their members. And, on the same day, Colonel Whalley, with other officers of the army, presented to the House the proposals and desires of the army, as the ground of this day's proceeding, desiring that it might be taken into speedy consideration; and the House ordered a committee to treat with the General and council of war for the discharge of their members. The above proposals and desires complain of the readmission to the House of the accused members, by whose means the Scots were the last summer brought into England: they, the army, desire the exclusion of certain members to the number of ninety; and that the House, being thus cleared of the offending members, will take order for the execution of justice, set a short period to their own power, and provide for a speedy succession of equal representatives. The names of the members seized are given in Rushworth, in number *forty-one*.

December 7. Lieutenant-general Cromwell came the last night to town, and sat this day in the House. The House considered of the great and faithful services performed by him to the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and ordered their hearty thanks, which were accordingly given by the Speaker.

The army, by the General's order, secured the treasuries at Weavers', Haberdashers', and Goldsmiths' halls, for the payment of the army.

December 12. The House debated the last propositions and desires of the army, and voted, that the vote of the 3d January, 1647, for revoking the order of the 9th September, for disabling the eleven members to be members of the House, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the destruction of the justice and peace of the kingdom, and was thereby repealed: that the vote of the 30th June, 1648, whereby the House did concur with the Lords, that for the opening a way for a treaty with His Majesty for a safe and well-grounded peace (the votes of the 3d January, 1647, forbidding all addresses to or from the King) should be taken off, was highly dishonourable to the proceedings of Parliament, and apparently destructive to the good of the kingdom. And on the following day came to the following resolutions:—To make no further addresses or applications to the King; or to receive any message from him: and that the vote for the revocation of those votes was highly dishonourable to the proceedings of Parliament, and apparently destructive of the good of the kingdom.

December 18. Sixteen of the members secured by the army were liberated by the General's order, and allowed to return to the House.

December 23. The House had much debate about bringing the great delinquents to punishment, and ordered a committee to consider of preparing a charge, and for that purpose to receive informations and examinations of witnesses for the matter of fact against the King, and all other delinquents that might be deemed proper objects of punishment.

December 28. The above committee reported an ordinance for attainting the King of high treason, and for trying him by commissioners to be therein named; which was read the first time, and the next day the second time and committed: and the commissioners were then appointed, consisting of Lords, Commoners, officers of the army, aldermen, and other commanders of the city, with some gentlemen from different counties, in number 150. And to confirm the present trial and foundation of their proceedings, and for prevention of the like for the future, they declared and adjudged, —That, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it was treason in the King of England, for the time to come, to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom of England.

January 2. The above ordinance was sent to the Lords for their concurrence, who, upon reading it, hesitated much upon the above declaration, in which their concurrence had been desired. They finally agreed to send their answer to the Commons by messengers of their own, and then adjourned to the Thursday sevennight. Whereupon the Commons finding that the Lords had rejected their ordinance, appointed some of their members to examine the Lords' journal-book, who brought from thence three votes; — To send answer by messengers of their own; that they did not concur in the declaration; and rejected the ordinance for the trial of the King. The Commons then voted that all members of the House of Commons, and all others appointed to act by order of that House, or ordinance of both Houses of Parliament in any ordinance wherein the Lords were joined, be empowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute in the several committees, of themselves, notwithstanding the House of Peers joined not with them therein. And they ordered the ordinance and declaration to be in the name of the Commons only.

January 4. The ordinance was read the third time and passed; the House first coming to the following resolutions: — That the Commons of England assembled in parliament do declare, that the people, under God, are the originals of all just power: — That they, the Commons, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation; and that whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England in parliament assembled, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto. The ordinance follows verbatim in Rushworth.

The Commons ordered the breaking to pieces of the then present great seal of England, and a new one to be made; the arms of England, the harp and the arms of Ireland, to be engraven on one side of the seal; and the inscription on that side of the seal to be "The Great Seal of England;" and the inscription on the other side, whereon the sculpture or map of the Parliament was to be engraven, to be — "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored."

Proclamation was made throughout London, by order of the General Lord Fairfax, by order of Parliament, for all delinquents and papists, and all persons who had engaged for the King in the war, to depart ten miles from London.

January 10. The commissioners for trial of the King met this afternoon in the painted chamber, and appointed Sergeant Bradshaw to be president of the court, Mr. Steel attorney-general, Mr. Cooke solicitor, who, with Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ashe, to draw up and manage the charge against the King. The place of trial was agreed to be Westminster Hall. On the 20th of the same January the High Court of Justice sat, and the act constituting the court having been read, the court was called. Amongst the commissioners present were, Sergeant Bradshaw the lord president, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Thomas Lord Grey of Grooby, William Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, Sir John Bourchier, and Edmund Ludlow.

The charge is of high treason against the King, by the name of Charles Stuart, for leying war against the Parliament, and the people therein represented. The trial was in Westmister Hall. About sixty members were present. Rushworth gives the proceedings at length. The King, upon the charge having been read, demanded of the Lord President by what lawful authority he was brought thither: being answered, "In the name of the Commons of England,"—he replied, He saw no Lords there, which should make a parliament, including the King; and urged that the kingdom of England was hereditary, and that he should betray his trust if he acknowledged or answered to them; for that he was not convinced they were a lawful authority. Upon his continuing to refuse answering, he was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and afterwards removed back to St. James's, where he continued that night, and the court adjourned till Monday morning at ten o'clock.

The House, upon the report of a late conference between the King and Mr. Peters, that the King earnestly desired for his better satisfaction of some scruples of conscience, he might have one of his own chaplains admitted to him, ordered that Dr. Juxon, the late Bishop of London, should be admitted to attend him.

January 22. The commissioners for Scotland delivered to the House a declaration from the parliament of Scotland, complaining of the proceeding to the trial of the King, declaring that

Scotland had an undoubted interest in the person of the King, who was not, they say, delivered to the English commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person, but for a more speedy settlement of the peace of his kingdoms. And that the then present way of proceeding against him left a deep impression on them, and sat heavy on all their spirits, in the apprehension of the great miseries that were likely to ensue to these kingdoms. They requested the permission of the House to make their personal addresses to the King.

The House referred the whole to a committee to prepare an answer to the parliament of Scotland.

The court again sat, and the King appeared, who persisting in his denial of the court's authority, was silenced by the president, and the court adjourned till the next day.

Tuesday, January 23. The court sat, when seventy-three members were present: the solicitor, Mr. Cooke, moved for judgment; whereupon the President addressed the King:—"Sir; In plain terms, for justice knows no respect of persons, you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons laid to your charge." The King, after a short pause, said, "When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England; I was interrupted. I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or no?" The President, in answer, said, "Sir, If you answer your charge, which the court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken advantage of your contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large: make the best defence you can." The King, persisting in his denial of the authority of the court, was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and the court adjourned till the next day.

The court did not sit again for some days, having been engaged in hearing witnesses in support of the charge, who were to give their evidence *vivâ voce*, if the King should plead.

January 27. The court sat again: sixty-seven members present, when the sentence was passed. It was executed on the 30th. The King, addressing himself to the gentlemen on the scaffold, made the speech given at length in Rushworth and other writers.

The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to his lodging chamber in Whitehall, and being embalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some days, it was, on Wednesday, the 17th of February, delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who, with some others, in mourning equipage, attended the hearse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room which was formerly the King's bedchamber. On the next day it was removed into the Dean's hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and lights were set burning round the hearse. About three in the afternoon, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, came thither with two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the King's funeral was committed to the Duke, provided the expenses thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. This order they showed to Colonel Whichcot, the governor of the castle, desiring the interment might be in St. George's chapel.

Then follows an act of the Commons, prohibiting the proclaiming or declaring king the Prince of Wales, or any other person, without consent of Parliament, under the penalty of the guilt of high treason.

Rushworth gives at length the King's declaration of his reasons for refusing to acknowlege the jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to have delivered in court, but was forbidden by the court.

CHAPTER VII.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. — HOUSE OF LORDS ABOLISHED. — KINGLY GOVERNMENT ABOLISHED. — TRIAL AND CONVICTION AND EXECUTION OF DUKE HAMILTON, LORD CAPEL, &C. — KING CHARLES II. PROCLAIMED KING OF SCOTLAND, AND AFTERWARDS CROWNED. — APPOINTMENT OF COUNCIL OF STATE. — DECLARATION RESPECTING RELIGION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH. — THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, &C. ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — NEW COIN. — COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT SETTLED. — CROMWELL APPOINTED LORD-LIEUTENANT AND COMMANDER OF THE FORCES OF IRELAND. — ALSO TO COMMAND THE ARMY AGAINST SCOTLAND. — HIS VICTORY AT DUNBAR. — LAW RECORDS, &C. TO BE IN ENGLISH. — CROMWELL'S VICTORY AT WORCESTER. — IRETON'S DEATH. — UNION WITH SCOTLAND. — CROMWELL APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALL THE FORCES. — NAVIGATION ACT. — DISSOLUTION OF LONG PARLIAMENT. — INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT DELIVERED TO NEW PARLIAMENT. — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR'S BROTHER. — NEW PARLIAMENT TERMINATED. — CROMWELL APPOINTED LORD PROTECTOR UNDER NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT. — PEACE WITH HOLLAND AND DENMARK. — MEETING OF PARLIAMENT. — DISSOLUTION. — CAPTURE OF JAMAICA. — DEATH AND FUNERAL OF ARCHBISHOP USHER. — SPANISH WAR. — PETITION AND ADVICE TO CROMWELL. — REFUSES THE TITLE OF KING.

THE House of Commons appear in the Journals, and by Whitelock, to have sat on the 30th of

January, both morning and afternoon; and so onwards without material intermission.

January 30. *post meridiem.* An act was passed, prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be king of England or Ireland, or the dominions thereof.

February 1. An act passed, that such members as had voted 5th December, then last, "that the late King's concessions to the propositions were a sufficient ground for settling a peace in this nation," should not be re-admitted to sit as members of this Parliament: and that such members as were then in the House, and gave their votes in the negative, should enter their dissent to the said vote, and such as were absent should declare their disapprobation thereof, before they be admitted to sit as members. Many members declared their dissent to that vote.

February 2. Divers members of the Parliament, of the army, of the city, and private gentlemen, to the number of sixty, whereof fifteen to be of the quorum, were, by act, made a High Court of Justice for the trial of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and others.

February 6. Debate till six o'clock at night whether the House of Commons should take the advice of the House of Lords in the exercise of the legislative power. The question passed in the negative. The Journals give the numbers—for the question, 29; against it, 44. And by a subsequent resolution, it was determined that the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and an act was directed for that purpose. Whitelock says, the debate was long and smart.

An answer was agreed to the Dutch ambassadors, returning thanks to the states, for their desire of continuing amity with this kingdom, professing their desire of the like, and care to continue the same. They thanked them also for their grave advice concerning the King; and let them understand, that the Commons of England had proceeded according to the laws of the land in what they had done; and that as they left all other nations and kingdoms to move according to their rights and laws, so they hoped none would think ill, if they should act according to those of England. — And that they should be always ready to show themselves friends to the United Provinces.

February 7. A long and quick debate, whether the government by kings should be abolished; and resolved, — That it had been found by experience, and the House did declare, that the office of king in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation; and therefore ought to be abolished. And that an act be brought in to that purpose. And a council of state of forty members created, to act according to instructions to be given by the House.

Whitelock states that Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself, being appointed commissioners of the new great seal, Widdrington declined, having some scruples against acting under the new authority. Whitelock gives his reasons for accepting the office, which he says he had considered with all seriousness. Mr. John L'Isle and Mr. Sergeant Keeble were appointed the two other commissioners, and two of the three, of the quorum; and their appointment was determined to be, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and to be styled Lords Commissioners.

The clerk of the House from thenceforth to subscribe its proceedings by the name of *Clericus Parliamenti.*

February. Letters from Edinburgh, that Prince Charles was proclaimed King of Scotland, by consent of its Parliament.

Journals, February 14. Vote for the following persons to be the council of state. The Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, Lords Grey of Werke, Fairfax, Grey of Grooby, Lord L'Isle, and Rolle, Sir John Wylde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haslerigg, Sir James Harrington, Vane, jun., Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitelock, Martin, Ludlow, Stapeley, Heveringham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Al Popham, Valentine, Wauton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones, and John L'Isle. Their powers were, To command and settle the militia of England and Ireland; to set forth a navy; to appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them, &c.; to sit, and execute their powers for a year. Two seals ordered them, engraven with the arms of England and Ireland, and this inscription, "The Committee of Estates appointed by Parliament."

Journals, February 19. Report by Lieutenant-general Cromwell from the committee of estates, that according to the order of the House, nineteen of the committee had subscribed for approving the King's execution; but that twenty-two had refused. Whitelock scrupled approving the proceedings of the High Court of Justice, because he was not privy to them, nor did he know what they were in particular. The General (Fairfax) desired to be spared for what was passed, as to subscribing; but he, and the rest of the refusers, affirmed, that for the future, if the Parliament thought them worthy to be employed, they would join with them and faithfully serve them. Not but that they confessed the Commons in Parliament to be the supreme power of the nation, and that they would live and die with them in what they should do for the future. But that they could not confirm what they had done, in relation to the King and Lords. This report was committed.

February 20. The Earl of Warwick was removed from his command of Lord High Admiral, and the command of the fleet vested in the commissioners of the navy.

February 22. An expedient assented to, for the members of the council of state, that they should subscribe the test, to approve of what should be done by the Commons in parliament, the supreme authority of the nation, but nothing of confirming what was past.

Many members having absented themselves till the late storms were over, the House ordered that none who had been absent since 31st December last, except military officers, should be re-admitted till further order.

An act passed, intituled, "An Act for the abolishing the Kingly Office in England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging." Also, "An Act for abolishing the House of Lords." Nevertheless such Lords as had demeaned themselves with honour, courage, and fidelity to the commonwealth, or their posterities, not to be excluded from the public councils of the nation, but to be admitted thereto, and have their free vote in Parliament, if thereunto elected as other members.

The instructions from the Scots commissioners to their new King were, says Whitelock, That he should take the covenant; to put from him all who had assisted his father in the war, particularly Montross; else not to treat with him: to bring but one hundred persons with him into Scotland, and none who had assisted his father in arms. To bring no forces into Scotland, from other nations, without their consent.

March 28. (1649.) Order of the Commons, That no ministers should teach in their pulpits any thing relating to state affairs; but only to preach Christ in sincerity.

March 30. Lieutenant-general Cromwell having accepted the service for Ireland, the House approved of the choice of him to be commander-in-chief of all the forces sent into Ireland. And (to take off any reflection upon the General (Fairfax), or dislike by him,) it was also voted, — That the Lord Fairfax be General of all the forces of the Parliament, both in England and Ireland.

April 3. Order for a declaration about matters of religion and settling of the church: — That tithes should not be taken away till another maintenance be provided for the minister, as large and as honourable as by tithes: that as soon as such a way could be provided, tithes should be then taken off: that the government to be established in England should be the presbyterian government: that a way should be provided for admission of all such churches as tended to godliness, and to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ, to be free without disturbance.

April 16. Upon the death of Sir Francis Pile, member for Berkshire, a writ was issued for a new election, and the sheriff returned the Earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, which the House approved, and admitted the Earl, and received him, attended by many eminent members, with great respect.

April 20. "An act for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other Offices and Titles belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel within England and Wales; and for vesting their Estates in Trustees for Sale:" the produce whereof to be applied to the purposes therein specified.

The care of the King's children was committed to Sir Edward Harrington, with an allowance of three thousand pounds per annum for their maintenance.

The forms of the new coin were agreed to be, —on the one side, the arms of England, and a laurel and a palm on each side, with this inscription: "The Commonwealth of England;"—on the other side, the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "God with us." And Thomas Symon appointed engraver to the mints and seals.

The Lord Howard chosen and admitted burgess for Carlisle.

Journals, April 25. Commissary-general Ireton reports, from the committee touching delinquents, some heads preparatory to an act of oblivion: when it was resolved that an act of oblivion be brought in; and the question being put, that the time of its commencement be, before the first day of the then term, it was carried by 25 to 22: Ireton and Colonel Rich, tellers for the yeas. An order to discharge from sequestration the Lady Capel's jointure. Also an act appointing Mr. Scobel clerk of the Parliament.

May 19. The act for constituting the people of England to be a commonwealth and free state, was this day read the third time, and passed.

Sir Edward Harrington having declined the charge of the late King's children, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth, they were placed under the tuition of the Countess of Carlisle, with the same allowance of three thousand pounds per annum.

May 26. Upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell's desire, referred to a committee to take his accounts of his expedition into Wales and Scotland, and give him discharges; which were thereupon approved and discharged.

June 15. Upon a report from the council of state, the House approved of Commissary-general Ireton to go into Ireland, next commander-in-chief to Lieutenant-general Cromwell.

July 30. Mr. Whitelock was appointed keeper of the library at St. James's, to take the care of the books, medals, &c. therein, which were deemed very choice and rare.

Letters from Cromwell to the House, going for Ireland, offering for their consideration the removal of penal statutes that inforced the consciences of honest, conscientious men.

September 29. Came a letter from Cromwell, dated 16th September, to the Speaker of the House, informing of his taking Drogheda by storm, after a stout resistance. He says, that having the day before summoned the place to surrender, and they having refused, quarter was refused; and he believed the whole garrison was put to the sword. That since, the enemy had quitted Trim and Dundalk. That the enemy was filled with much terror, and, says Cromwell, "truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God." He adds, "I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of this mercy belongs; for instruments, they were very inconsiderable in the work throughout." Public thanksgivings were given.

January 12. The Parliament ordered a letter to be written by the Speaker to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, and to confer with him concerning further supplies of men, money, and ammunition, and for the settling of the civil government in Ireland. The ground of this resolution was, adds Whitelock, that the news of the King's coming to Scotland became more probable than formerly; and the Scots proceedings in the raising of new forces gave an alarm to the Parliament: and some of their members who had discoursed with the Lord General (Fairfax) on those matters, and argued how requisite it would be to send an army into Scotland, to divert the war from England, found the General wholly averse to any such thing; and by the means of his lady, a strict presbyterian, to be more a friend to the Scots than they: — that, therefore, they thought this a fit time to send for the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland (Cromwell), and the rather, his army being now drawn into winter-quarters.

January 23. The Earl of Pembroke died: his son, who was a member of the House of Commons before, continued to sit in the House.

January 25. Ordered, That the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal do take care that writs be issued, and sent into every county to the several sheriffs, to proclaim the act touching the engagements. This course, observes Whitelock, of proclaiming new acts of Parliament was very ancient, and constantly used, especially in elder times, as appears in the records; but of late disused. It was thought fit to have it revived, that the people might be informed what acts were passed; which they were not so fully apprised of, by the printing, as by proclaiming them at their markets.

February 11. Appointment of a council of state for the ensuing year, to consist of forty-one members.

The number of the members then in the House was reported to be 108.

Whitelock observes, that by this good government of the army in Ireland, and the great success of it, and the well-ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell got a very great interest, not only in the officers of the army, but likewise in the Parliament and council of state, and with their whole party; only the Scots and presbyterians were no favourers of him or his proceedings. That the juncto of the council of state, with whom Cromwell consulted, having intelligence of the King's resolution for Scotland, and of the laws there made of forces to assist him in his intended invasion of England, whereof they had more than ordinary assurance, they thought it not prudent to be behind-hand with their enemy, nor to be put to an after-game, to stay till they should first invade England, but rather to carry the war from their native country into Scotland. As to the objection that their invading Scotland would be contrary to the covenant, they were satisfied that it had been broken by the Scots and dissolved before, and was not then binding betwixt the two nations; and the levying of forces in Scotland, and marching some of them to the borders of England, with the hostile acts done by them formerly, were sufficient grounds for the Parliament to provide for the security of themselves and countrymen; the which could not be so effectually done, as by carrying the war, which they designed upon us, unto their own doors. Upon these and many other weighty considerations, it was resolved,—That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the miseries accompanying their forces to our countrymen: that the Lord Fairfax, being advised with therein, seemed at first to like well of it; but afterwards, being hourly persuaded by the presbyterian ministers and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared himself unsatisfied that there was a just ground for the Parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland; but that in case the Scots should invade England, then he was forward to engage against them in defence of his own country: that the council of state, somewhat troubled at these scruples, appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock, a committee to confer thereon with Lord Fairfax, and to endeavour to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking: that the committee met with him, and being shut up together in a room in Whitehall, they went first to prayer that God would direct them in this business, and Cromwell began, and most of the committee prayed, after which they discoursed with the General thereon. Various reasons were assigned by the different members of the committee to satisfy him of the Scots intention to invade England, and of the necessity therefore of being before-hand, and carrying the war into their country. He acknowledged that which had been said carried much weight and reason with it: but not satisfying him, he desired to lay down his commission. Much other discourse, says Whitelock, passed between His Lordship and the committee, to the fore-mentioned purpose of satisfying him that the Scots had invaded England since the national covenant, and contrary to it; and that their then proceedings and preparations for war were intended against England, on behalf of their King, and for his restoration; and none of the committee so earnest to persuade the General to continue his commission as Cromwell and the soldiers. Yet, says he, there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it; that the House, being informed of this resolution of Lord Fairfax to lay down his commission, new endeavours were used to persuade him to continue his command, but in vain; he therefore laid it down. And an act passed repealing the ordinance and act whereby His Lordship was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Parliament. And this being of so great consequence, and admitting of no delay, it not being safe for the army to be without a head, Cromwell was presently, by contrivance, says Whitelock, named General and commander-in-chief of all the Parliament forces, which was voted *nemine contradicente;* and an act passed accordingly. Great ceremonies and congratulations were made to him from all sorts of people, and he went on roundly with his business.

July 1. Information, that the King landed in Scotland 16th June; but so privately, that it was not known till the 24th: That the Scots had levied ten thousand foot and twenty-seven troops of horse, besides their old army, and had resolved to invade England, if England did not first invade them.

July 2. Colonel Ludlow was appointed a commissioner for the affairs of Ireland, and Lieutenant-general of the horse there, upon the death of General Jones. He was appointed at the instance of Cromwell. Ludlow, a few pages before, in his memoirs, expresses himself suspicious of Cromwell's sincerity, in his persuasions of Fairfax to go to Scotland. There is as much reason to suspect Ludlow's sincerity in, for some time, declining to accept this office, alleging his supposed unfitness for the employ, and inconvenience to his private concerns; all which, he says, were real and unfeigned.

September 7. Accounts from Cromwell of defeating the Scots army at Dunbar, on the 3d of this month: the Scots army in number 27,000; the English, by sickness and otherwise, having been reduced to 12,000: and of the English army having taken possession of Edinburgh and besieging the Castle.

The Lady Elizabeth, the late King's daughter, dying in the Isle of Wight, — in the Journals, the 11th September, referred to the committee of revenue to consider of, and give order for, her interment there, and for providing mourning for her brother Henry, and his and her servants.

Journals, October 5. Ordered, That all the books of the law be put into English; and that all writs, process, and return thereof, and all patents, commissions, indictments, judgments, records, and all rules and proceedings in courts of justice, be in the English language only, and not in Latin or French, or any other language; and that the same be writ in an ordinary legible hand, and not in any court-hand: and referred to a committee to draw up an act upon this vote: and to the same committee to consider of the judges' salaries and fees, and those of other officers; and to consider of delays and unnecessary charges in law proceedings; and to present a bill to the House for redress thereof. This act, for putting the laws into English, afterwards passed.

October 31. Information from Scotland, that the 1st of January then next was appointed for the coronation of the King; and that, in the mean time, two fasts were to be held, one for the sins of the King and his family, the other for the sins of the kirk and state. And further letters in December, that Edinburgh Castle had surrendered: the goods therein were of great value, but by the articles, the owners had liberty to take them away. Also, of the crowning of the King at Schone, in Scotland; and that he had signed the covenant.

And that the King was appointed captain-general of the Scots army, and Duke Hamilton was to be lieutenant-general, David Lesley to be major-general, and Middleton lieutenant-general of the horse, and Massey to be major-general of the English.

May 27. (1651.) The Parliament, continues Whitelock, sent a message to the General, Cromwell, to desire him to retire for his health to some convenient place in England, for the fresh air, and to entrust the army, in the mean time, in such hands as he should think fit. The General being sick of an ague, the officers of the army provided to march without him; and they ordered two physicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, to go into Scotland to attend him, and to take care of his health, they being his usual physicians in London; and on the 9th came letters from the General of his recovery.

August 11. Letters from Cromwell, of the Scots army's march for England, and his following them; and shows the reasons for not interposing between them and England.

September 4. Information of the defeat, on the preceding day, of the Scots army before Worcester. The word was, "The Lord of Hosts," the same signal as at Dunbar, on that day twelve months. Cromwell, in his letter to the Parliament, says, the battle was fought with various success for some hours, and in the end became an absolute victory. He says, there were about six or seven thousand prisoners taken, and many officers and noblemen of quality: that it was a stiff business; yet he did not think his army had lost more than two hundred men.

December 8. Letters from Ireland, of the death of the Lord-deputy Ireton, on the 26th of November, and appointment of Lieutenant-general Ludlow to the command of the forces, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known. The body was to be taken to England.

Upon the return of some of the commissioners, appointed to negotiate a union with Scotland, the Parliament ordered an act to be brought in, to incorporate Scotland one commonwealth with England.

June 16. Journals, and quoted by Whitelock. Vote, That the act of Parliament, constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq., captain-general and commander-in-chief of the armies and forces raised and to be raised, by their authority, within England, did and should extend to the forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been therein particularly named. That the Lord General should be required to appoint such person as he should think fit, to command the forces in Ireland, and to commissionate him accordingly.

The Parliament, says Whitelock, were very busy in debate of several acts of Parliament under consideration; but very little was brought to effect:

the soldiers grumbled at their delays; and there began to be ill blood between them: the General and his officers pressed the putting a period to their sitting, which they promised to do; but were slow in that business: that the preparations for the navy, and the war at sea with the Dutch, went on with great vigour; and the Parliament were quick in it, and referred it to the council of state to take care of it: and they were diligent in their business, and cautious to have money in readiness for it, and to settle amities with foreign princes, and such correspondences that there might be the less assistance to their enemies, or joining with them.

Lord Clarendon observes, about this time, that the treaty with the Dutch failing, the Parliament made the Navigation Act; inhibiting all foreign ships from bringing any merchandise or commodities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships. This indeed, says His Lordship, concerned all other countries; but it did totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world:—that the Dutch were highly displeased, and said they could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war:—that the parliament answered him superciliously, that his (the ambassador's) masters might take it in what manner they pleased;

but that they knew what was best for their own estate, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours; and caused the acts to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

April 20. That, yesterday, says Whitelock, there having been a great meeting, at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, of parliament men and several officers of the army, sent to by Cromwell to be there, and a large discourse and debate having been amongst them, touching some expedient to be found out for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to this present parliament; it was offered by divers as a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present parliament, and to set up any other government; and that it would be neither warrantable in conscience or wisdom so to do; yet none of them expressed themselves so freely to that purpose as Sir Thomas Widdrington and Whitelock then did. Of the other opinion, as to putting a period forthwith to this parliament, St. John was one of the chief, and many more with him, and generally all the officers of the army, who stuck close in this likewise to their General. And the better to make way for themselves and their ambitious design of advancement to the civil government as well as they were in the military power, they and their party declared their opinions that it was necessary the same should be done one way or other, and the members of Parliament not permitted to prolong their own power: at which expression Cromwell seemed to reprove some of them; and this conference lasted till late at night, when Widdrington and Whitelock went home weary, and troubled to see the indiscretion and ingratitude of those men, and the way they designed to ruin themselves. That therefore these came early again this morning, according to appointment, to Cromwell's lodgings, where there were but few parliament men, and a few officers of the army. A point was again stirred which had been debated the last night, whether forty persons, or about that number of parliament men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the Parliament, and empowered for the managing the affairs of the commonwealth till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament to be forthwith dissolved.—Whitelock was against this proposal; and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty, who, he thought, would be in a desperate condition after the parliament should be dissolved; but others were very ambitious to be of this number, and to be invested with this exorbitant power. Cromwell being informed, during this debate, that the Parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them, he broke off the meeting; and the members of Parliament, who were with him, left him at his lodging and went to the House, and found them in debate of an act which would occasion other meetings and prolong their sitting: whereupon Colonel Ingoldsby went back to Cromwell, and told him what the House were doing; who was so enraged thereat, expecting they would have meddled with no other business than putting a period to their own sitting without more delay, that he immediately commanded some of the officers of the army to send a party of soldiers, with whom he marched to the House, and led a file of musketeers in with him; the rest he placed at the door of the House, and in the lobby before it. In this manner entering the House, he, in a furious manner bid the Speaker leave his chair, telling the House that they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, looking then towards Henry Martyn and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and desired them to go away. The Speaker not stirring from his seat, Colonel Harrison, who sat near the chair, rose up, and took him by the arm, to remove him, which, when the Speaker saw, he left the chair. Some of the members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself; which he did with so much arrogance in himself and reproach to his fellow-members, that some of his privadoes were ashamed of it; but he and his officers and party would have it so; and, among all the parliament men, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance, but all of them tamely departed the House.

April 21. That Cromwell and his party, continues Whitelock, were busy in consultation to find out a new government and governors for their commonwealth. They ordered that all courts of justice should sit as formerly: they set forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons for this dissolution; and that all civil officers should proceed as formerly in the execution of their offices, and all persons to give obedience to them. The commissioners did not proceed in the business of the great seal till after this declaration, and then considering that they had their authority from the parliament, they proceeded. The Generals and captains at sea published a declaration of their resolutions, notwithstanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties, and the trust reposed in them, against the enemies of this commonwealth.

The substance of the above declaration of Cromwell, referred to by Whitelock, and his party, he says, was, that the Parliament had neglected to settle a due liberty in civil and spiritual things, and were desirous of perpetuating themselves, having frequently declared against having a new representative, and that, when they saw themselves necessitated to take the bill brought into the House for that purpose into consideration, they resolved to use it to recruit the House.

Many acknowledgments (continues Whitelock) were received of the justice of the late action of dissolving the Parliament, from several parties of the army, and from others in several counties, with engagements to stand by them.

May 27. That Cromwell, and his council of officers, resolved to summon select persons to be nominated by themselves out of every county, who should be as a representative of the whole nation. Accordingly, letters were sent from Cromwell to the several persons called to take upon them the trust of the government of the commonwealth.

Judges were nominated by Cromwell and his council of state for the summer circuit.

Journals, July 4. (1653.) This day there was a great appearance of those persons to whom the letters were directed, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, where the General declared to them the grounds and ends of calling them; and delivered to them an instrument in writing under his hand and seal, and afterwards left them. Whitelock says, that the number was about one hundred and twenty; and that, being seated round the table, Cromwell and the officers standing about the middle of the table, Cromwell made a speech to them, shewing the cause of their summons, and that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the commonwealth. He then produced an instrument in writing under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and entrust the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met; and that they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection; that they should not sit longer than the 3d day of November, 1654; and, three months before their dissolution, to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and to be left to them to take care for a succession of government. That then Cromwell and his officers withdrew, and the persons met adjourned themselves to the next day, in the parliament-house, and appointed to keep a fast there, to seek God for his direction and blessing.

It was (observes Whitelock) much wondered by some, that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to take it; but it was accepted by them.

Mr. Rous was called to the chair; Mr. Henry Scobell was appointed clerk of the House.

Journals, July 6. The name of Parliament to be the title of this assembly, determined by 65 against 46.

The council of state to be thirty-one, and the quorum nine; Cromwell the first named.

A great insurrection and tumult, says Whitelock, was at the New Exchange, between the Portugal ambassador's brother and some of his company, and Colonel Gerrard, an English gentleman, who was stabbed in the shoulder, but was rescued by a Mr. Anthuser, whom not finding, but mistaking afterwards a Colonel Mayo for him, they, with the assistance of fifty Portuguese, attacked and dangerously wounded Colonel Mayo, and killed a Mr. Greenaway, of Lincoln's Inn. The Parliament's horse taking the alarm, apprehended some of the Portuguese, and the rest of them took refuge in the ambassador's house, whither Colonel Whalley, with his men, pursued them, and required that they should be immediately delivered up to him. The ambassador insisted upon his privilege, but, seeing that nothing else would satisfy, he delivered up his brother, and one of the knights of Malta, and some others, and promised to be answerable for the forthcoming of the rest. The ambassador then addressed Cromwell, chiefly for his brother; who told him that the business concerned the public, and therefore his address must be to the Parliament and the council of state. The ambassador's brother, and four others, having been examined by the Lord-chief-justice Rolles, were committed to Newgate for trial.

Journals, December 12. It being moved that the sitting of the Parliament any longer as now constituted would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that, therefore, it was requisite to deliver up to the Lord-general Cromwell the power which they received from him, and that motion being seconded by several other members, the House rose; and the Speaker, with many members, departed out of the House to Whitehall, where they, being the greater number of the members sitting in Parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign to His Excellency their said powers; and Mr. Speaker, attended with the members, presented them to him accordingly. The General, says Whitelock, with his council of officers, met, where some things were transacted in order to the settlement of the government of the nation. But, the powers of the Parliament having been so resigned into Cromwell's hands, he called a council of officers, and advised with them, and with other persons of interest in the nation, how this great burthen of governing England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be borne, and by whom. They, after several days seeking of God, and advising in this matter, resolved, that a council of godly, able, and discreet persons should be named consisting of twenty-one, and that the Lord-general should be chosen Lord Protector of the three nations; who accordingly, about three in the afternoon, came from Whitehall to the Chancery-court, in the state described by Whitelock. A chair of state was set, and the General stood on the left hand of it, uncovered, till a large writing on parchment was read, containing the power with which he was invested, and how he was to govern the three nations, and the oath to be taken by him: which he subscribed, and took the oath, and then sat down in the chair covered, and, after some other ceremonies, the procession returned to Whitehall. Then follows also (in Whitelock) the instrument of government, consisting of forty-two articles; the sixth of which declares, that the laws should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in Parliament, save only as was expressed in the thirtieth article. The seventh article declares, that a Parliament should be summoned to meet upon the 3d day of September, 1654, and afterwards every third year, which the eighth article declares should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during five months from the day of its first meeting. By the ninth, the number of members not to exceed 400 for England and Wales, Jersey and Guernsey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; for Scotland

and Ireland, not to exceed 30 each. The tenth ascertains the number to be chosen for each county, and for the places within the respective counties. The eighteenth declares the qualification of electors for counties to be, real or personal estate, of the value of two hundred pounds. The twenty-second declares the persons so chosen, or any sixty of them, to be deemed the Parliament. The twenty-third empowers the Protector, with the advice of the major part of his council, at any time, upon emergencies, to summon Parliaments. The twenty-fourth requires all bills agreed to by the Parliament to be presented to the Protector for his consent; and, if consent not given within twenty days, or satisfaction given to the Parliament within that time, the bills to become laws. The twenty-fifth appoints a council of state, with provision for keeping up the number. The thirty-second declares the office of protector elective, not hereditary. The thirty-third declares Oliver Cromwell Captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for life. The thirty-fifth declares that the Christian religion, contained in the Scriptures, was to be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as might be, a provision less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, should be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, heresy, and whatever was contrary to sound doctrine; and that, until such provison should be made, the present maintenance should not be taken away, nor impeached. The thirty-sixth declares, that to the public profession held forth, none should be compelled by penalties, or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation. The thirty-seventh declares, that such as should profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but should be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abused not their liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided that this liberty was not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness.

The proclamation of the council upon this occasion begins with reciting that the then late Parliament dissolved itself.

February 23. Letters of credence sent to Monsieur Bourdeaux to be ambassador extraordinary from the French King to the Lord Protector, who afterwards had audience of the Protector.

March 4. The Dutch ambassadors had audience of the Lord Protector, in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was richly furnished. They acquainted His Highness that all their provinces had consented to the articles of peace, and had empowered them to ratify the articles; and they desired a cessation of arms in the mean time.

An ambassador was also landed from the King of Denmark.

April 2. 1654. An ordinance passed for the union of Scotland with England, whereby it was declared to be incorporated into, and to be one commonwealth with, England; in the Parliament whereof, thirty persons should serve for Scotland.

Whitelock in continuation: — That upon the examination of the plot against the Protector and his government, it appeared, that the conspirators intended to assassinate him, and some chief persons in the government, and to proclaim the King, with pardon to all except three persons. Sir Gilbert Gerrard and two of his brothers, and Colonel Ashburnham and Mr. Joseph Ashburnham, with several others, were in custody. An addition was made to the guards at the Tower. The Protector and his counsel sat day and night upon the examination of this plot.

June 8. The writs for choosing members to sit in Parliament, appointed by the instrument of government to be held the 3d of September then next, were prepared, by warrant from the Protector.

July 5. The Portuguese ambassador's brother and two other Portuguese were tried before commissioners of oyer and terminer in the King's Bench. He pleaded that he was not only the ambassador's brother, but had a commission to be ambassador in his brother's absence, and that by the law of nations he was privileged from his trial. The point of privilege was long debated by the court and the Lord Protector's counsel, and the determination of the court was against the plea of privilege; and after much persuasion, he and the rest pleaded not guilty, and a jury of six denizens and six aliens found the ambassador's brother and four more guilty of murder and felony, and they were sentenced to be hanged.

July 10. The English boy, who was one of those convicted of the above murder, was hanged at Tyburn, Mr. Vowel was hanged at the Meuse gate, Mr. Fox was reprieved, Mr. Gerrard was beheaded at Tower-hill; they having been convicted of the conspiracy against the Lord Protector and his government. The ambassador's brother was conveyed from Newgate to Tower-hill in a coach and six horses, in mourning, with divers of his brother's retinue with him. On the scaffold he spake something to those that understood him, in excuse of his offence, laying the blame of the quarrel and murder upon the English: and was then beheaded. The rest condemned for the murder were reprieved. The articles of peace were signed by the Portuguese ambassador, who thereupon quitted London.

Journals. September 3d (1654), being the day whereon the Parliament was by writ summoned to meet, being also the Lord's day, divers of the members met at the sermons in the Abbey-church at Westminster, where the Protector met them in great state; and, after the sermons in the afternoon, about four o'clock, they attended in the painted chamber (about three hundred in number), where His Highness, standing bare, upon a place erected for that purpose, declared to this effect: That being the Lord's day, which was not to be taken up in ceremonies, he desired them to meet at the Abbey the next morning at nine of the clock at the sermons; and from thence to come again to the painted chamber, where he would communicate some things, which he held necessary for the good of the commonwealth.

Monday, September 4. The House met, and proceeded to the Abbey, where His Highness came, attended by the lords commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers of state, and heard a sermon, preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwyn, and then went to the painted chamber, where His Highness made unto them a large narrative of the grounds of their being called together, and the weightiness of their employ, (which Whitelock calls a large and subtle speech,) he then desired them to repair to their House, and choose a speaker; who chose Mr. Lenthal, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Scobell to be their clerk. Then they appointed a day of national humiliation, and adjourned to the next day.

Tuesday, September 5. The House sat, and called over their members, and resolved to take the matter of the government into debate, the first business to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, September 6. The House, according to former order, took into debate the matter of government.

Resolved upon the question, That the subject matter of the debate to-morrow morning shall be, Whether the House shall approve the government to be in one single person, and a parliament.

September 7. The House, entering upon the debate according to the vote of yesterday, it was moved, and the question being put, "That the House be now resolved into a committee of the whole House for the taking up this business according to the order," the House was divided: Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Strickland, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 136; Sergeant Bradshaw, Colonel John Birch, tellers for the yeas, 141: so it was resolved, "That the House be now resolved into a committee of the whole House for the taking up the debate of this business according to the order.

September 12. The Protector, continues Whitelock, being acquainted that the debates of the Parliament grew high touching the new government, and entertaining a jealousy, to which he was addicted, that this parliament would, either too far invade it, or endeavour to overthrow it, he sent for the members to meet him in the painted chamber, where he addressed them to the effect hereafter given; and concludes with requiring from the members a test or recognition of the government, which was to be signed by them before they went any more into the House. The recognition was in these words: "I A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not, according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in the present parliament, propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament."

Voted by the Parliament, That this (recognition) doth not comprehend, nor shall be construed to comprehend therein, the whole government consisting of forty-two articles, but that the same doth only include what concerns the government of the commonwealth, by a single person and successive parliaments.

The recognition being ingrossed in parchment, was placed on a table near the House door, for the members to peruse and sign it; and about one hundred and thirty of them subscribed it, and took their places: and the House adjourned for one day, to give time for the rest to sign it. Major-general Harrison was secured by a party of horse, by the Lord Protector's order.

Journals. Same day, resolved by the Parliament that the clerk do bring into this House the original record of the government of the commonwealth, to remain in the House for their further consideration.

The University of Oxford acknowledged the respect of the Protector to them in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing on the public library twenty-four manuscripts in Greek, and for munificently ordering an hundred pounds per annum to a divinity reader.

Journals, September 15. The original record of the recognition, was brought in, and read: resolved, That the debate thereon be adjourned till Monday morning, the first business.

The Parliament passed a vote, that all persons returned, or to be returned to serve in the then present parliament, should, before they should be admitted to sit in the House, subscribe the recognition: and that those subscriptions be taken in the presence of any two members, who had subscribed it.

September 19. The Parliament sat in a committee of the whole House to take the government into debate and consideration. Also on the two following days, the 20th and 21st; and leave given to sit on the Monday the 22d: and referred to a committee to bring in a bill upon the present debate.

November 7. Report of the committee of the whole House, upon the government: That the supreme legislative authority of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, is and doth reside in one person, and the people assembled in parliament;—with this declaration, That this vote shall not be prejudicial to any further debate or resolution touching the remainder of the forty-two articles; and that the style of such person shall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that Oliver Cromwell, Captain-general of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is and shall be Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, for his life; and that a parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the next preceding parliament, afterwards ordered according to this report.

Journals, November 8—11. The committee continued to sit; and on the latter and subsequent days resolved, That all bills agreed unto by the Parliament should be presented to the said single person for his consent, and that in case he should not give his consent within twenty days, or give satisfaction to the Parliament within that time, then such bills should pass into and become laws, although he should not consent thereunto; provided they should contain in them nothing contrary to such matters, wherein the single person and the Parliament should declare a negative to be in the single person.

November 20. The committee continued sitting, and resolved, that the standing forces, after the present Protector's death, in the interval of parliament, shall be in the disposition and ordering of the council, until a parliament be assembled; and then the disposal of the said forces to be made by the Parliament as they shall think fit.

November 22. Resolved, That no law shall be altered, suspended, or repealed, nor new laws made, nor any tax imposed, but by assent of Parliament. And 23d November, voted that a parliliament should be summoned to meet upon the third Monday in October, 1656, and upon the third Monday in October, 1659, and so likewise on the third Monday in October in every third year successively. The committee also came to divers resolutions respecting the future calling of parliaments, and settled the form of the writ of summons; and to compel the calling them in case of the Protector's omission to call them.

December 6. Members for England not to exceed 400; Scotland 30; Ireland 30.

That the true reformed Protestant Christian religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, shall be asserted and maintained, and no other, as the public professions of the nations.

December 9. Resolved, That the committee to whom the preparing a bill upon the votes, concerning the government, is referred, be empowered to consider of the printed instrument entitled, "The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" and where they find any thing defective in the votes, which hath not been already debated in the House, to resort to the House with such particulars as may be fit to be supplied without altering the substance of what the House hath already voted. Whitelock hereupon remarks that the government by a Protector was still the subject of the House's debate.

December 11. The Parliament voted two books, printed under the name of John Biddle, to contain many impious and blasphemous opinions against the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and that the books should be burnt by the common hangman; and Biddle was brought to the bar of the House, owned his books, and was committed to the Gatehouse.

December 22. Report from the committee, to whom it was referred to prepare a bill upon the votes passed touching the government, of a bill prepared; which was read a first time; in the debate whereof, says Whitelock, many things were spoken which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and cause of suspicion that no good was to be expected from them; and it appeared that the Parliament was not inclinable to the Protector's desire.

The Parliament, continues Whitelock, made what haste they could to finish their debates, but they were not likely to come to a good issue; and the Protector began to be weary of the Parliament, and to have thoughts of dissolving it. That he was advised to the contrary upon experiences of former inconveniences upon the dissolution of parliaments, which ever caused ill blood: however, not to dissolve it, till after the time was passed that they were to sit by the instrument of govenment: but that the Protector was determined; and some of his council were not backward to promote what they perceived he was inclined to have done. He accordingly dissolved the Parliament on Monday the 22d January (1654), upon the conclusion of a speech (according to the Journals, in the painted chamber, the Parliament with their Speaker attending him there,) to the effect hereafter given.

March —. That the Protector and his council were much engaged in framing new ordinances to please the people. Amongst others, they had one in consideration for regulating the proceedings in Chancery, which caused doubts in the commissioners of the seal, who knew the authority of that court was designed to be lessened; and they were not consulted, whereof they took no notice, but went on in the ordinary course of their proceedings.

June 7. An order, proceeds Whitelock, was brought to the lords-commissioners, directing their attendance, with the great seal, upon the Protector and his council, in the evening; when the Protector gravely told them, that he was sorry some of them could not satisfy their consciences to execute the ordinance concerning the Chancery, which, they were informed, had much good in it to the public; but, he confessed, that every one was to satisfy himself in a matter to be performed by him, and that he had not the worse opinion of any man, for refusing to do that whereof he was doubtful; but that, in this particular, the affairs of the commonwealth did require a conformity of the officers thereof, and their obedience to authority; and that some of them having refused to execute this act, they were compelled to put the great seal into the hands of some others, who might be satisfied that it was their duty to perform this command, and to put the ordinance in execution. That Whitelock, being the ancientest of the commissioners, told His Highness, that their scruple was not upon the authority of His Highness and the council, as to the command of all matters concerning the government of the commonwealth; but only as to the effect of this ordinance to be executed as a law, which, they apprehended, and for which apprehension they had formerly given their reasons, would be of great prejudice to the public, and would be contrary to what they had formerly by their oath promised. That Sir Thomas Widdrington spoke to the same effect; and then the Protector directed them to lay down the seal, and they withdrew. That the Protector kept the seal in his own custody for some days, and dispatched some business of sealing in his chamber; and, on the 15th of the same month, it was delivered to Colonel Fiennes and to Major L'Isle, their late brother commissioners, who, Whitelock adds, was for all assays. The one of them, he adds, never had experience in matters of this nature, and the other had as little knowledge in them, till by accompanying the late commissioners he gained some; and now he carried the business very high and superciliously.

The Protector being (says Whitelock) good natured, and sensible of his harsh proceedings against him and Widdrington, for keeping to that liberty of conscience which himself held to be every one's right, and that none ought to suffer for it, he, to make them some recompense, appointed them commissioners of the treasury, together with Colonel Montague and Colonel Sydenham, with whom they had fair quarter, their salary one thousand each per annum, and Mr.

Sherwyn, an able man, in the business of the Exchequer, was their secretary. He adds, they had a seal from the Protector, and his council, for every great sum, and they then ordered, under their hands, the payment of every particular sum accordingly; and all these were entered in their books: so that the State could not be cozened, and they had not the hard ways of the usual course of the Exchequer, but yet they did not take off that course, as to the constant form of it.

Accounts came of the failure of the expedition to the West Indies under Generals Pen and Venables, but that the remainder of the armament had taken possession of Jamaica; and, soon afterwards, Major Sedgwick was sent with twelve ships, and Colonel Humphries with his regiment with supplies; so careful, says Whitelock, was the Protector to lose no advantage of what he had got a footing in.

Many lords, and other prisoners, were released, upon their own security for their peaceable demeanour.

A conference was had with Manasseth Ben Israel respecting the admission of the Jewish nation to trade in England.

The commissioners of the Treasury, says Whitelock, had a constant weekly account of all the receipts and disbursements of that great revenue, which being so often taken, rendered it the more easy, and afforded them the better opportunity of ordering it most advantageously to the commonwealth; which accounts, as they received them from the officers under them, they delivered to the Protector, with their advice thereon.

April (1656). Letters from the different counties, of great appearances of the country at the assizes, and that the gentlemen of greatest quality served upon the grand juries, which, says Whitelock, is fit to be observed.

Order, by the Protector and council, for the founding and endowing a college at Durham, out of the dean and prebend's lands there.

Some were apprehended and imprisoned, by warrant from the Protector, for being engaged in a duel.

April 17. Bishop Usher, the late Archbishop of Armagh, was this day buried in Westminster Abbey, and two hundred pounds were given by the Protector to bear the charge of his funeral.

May 3. The Protector knighted M. Coyett, the King of Sweden's resident here, and gave him a jewel with his picture in a case of gold set round with diamonds, of the value of one thousand pounds, and a rich gold chain of the value of four hundred pounds, and twelve pounds worth of white cloth. He (the resident), nevertheless, again complained of the delays in his business; and that, when he desired to have the articles of the treaty put into Latin, according to custom, they made him stay fourteen days for the translation, and sent it to one Mr. Milton, a blind man, to put them into Latin, who, he said, must use an amanuensis to read it to him, and that amanuensis might publish the matter of the articles as he pleased; and that it seemed strange to him there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin; that the Chancellor (of Sweden) penned with his own hand the articles made at Upsale, and so he heard the ambassador Whitelock did for those on his part. The employment of Mr. Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the council fit for that employment were then absent.

July 17. The treaty was signed; and, the ambassador having taken leave of the Protector, received great civilities and respect from him, and dined with him at Hampton-court, and hunted with him; he knighted one of his gentlemen: he afterwards took his leave, at Hampton-court, of the Lady Elizabeth Claypoole and her sisters.

Journals. Wednesday, Sept. 17. being the day of the meeting of the Parliament, His Highness, the Lord Protector, attended by the Lord President and the rest of his council, and other officers of state, came to the abbey-church in Westminster, where they were met by the members of Parliament, and heard a sermon preached by Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ-church and vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford; and from thence came to the painted chamber, where most of the members of Parliament were present, to whom he communicated the occasion of calling this present Parliament. His speech upon this occasion is not in the Journals, nor in Whitelock. After which, the members repaired to the House, at the door whereof some persons, by His Highness's appointment, attended, and received of every member a certificate from the clerk of the commonwealth in Chancery, that he was returned to serve in this present Parliament, and approved by the council; and thereupon he was admitted into the House.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, continues Whitelock, was chosen Speaker. The House resolved to keep a fast-day on the Wednesday next.

A report having been made to the House from the council, of the reasons why some persons returned for members were not admitted into the House, it was resolved that those persons should make their applications to the council for approbation; whereupon, says Whitelock, several of the members that were chosen to serve in Parliament, and not approved by the council, published a remonstrance and protest, which there follows, and was signed by ninety-eight names.

October 2. The Lord Richard Cromwell being returned to serve for the University of Cambridge, and also for the county of Southampton, made his election for Cambridge.

October 9. The bill, entitled "An Act for the Security of His Highness the Lord Protector, his Person, and the Continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety," was read, and passed with some alterations.

November 27. The Protector came to the painted chamber, and sent a sergeant-at-arms to give the House notice that he was come. The Speaker, and the whole House, went to the painted chamber, where His Highness, in the presence of the Lord President, and the rest of the council, and other chief officers of state, gave his consent to the several following bills: — That passing of bills should not determine the then present session of Parliament; for renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart, &c.; for the security of His Highness the Lord Protector, his person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety; for taking away the court of wards and liveries; and for the exportation of several commodities of the breed, growth, and manufacture of the commonwealth.

January 19. Discovery of a plot to kill the Protector and burn Whitehall, and a thanksgiving-day appointed for this discovery. The House resolved to wait on the Protector, to congratulate the mercy and the deliverance.

February 8. There was, says Whitelock, a great meeting of learned men at his house, at Chelsea, by an order of the House, referring to a sub-committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulh, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they should think fit; and to consider of the translation and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to the committee; and it was especially commended to him (Whitelock) to take care of this business. That the committee often met at his house, and was attended by the most learned men in the oriental tongues, who agreed, that notwithstanding some small mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English, it was the best of any translation in the world; that great pains were taken in it, but it became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution.

February 9. Syndercombe was tried at the Upperbench-bar, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Court declared, that, by the common law, to compass or imagine the death of the chief magistrate, by what name soever he was called, whether Lord Protector or otherwise, was high treason; and that the statute 25 Ed. 3. was only declaratory of the common law.

Dr. Walton, says Whitelock, published the Polyglot Bible.

Journals, February 23. Sir Christopher Pack presented a paper to the House, declaring, — It was somewhat come to his hands, tending to the settlement of the nation, and of liberty, and of property; and prayed it might be received and read. And it being much controverted, whether the same should be read without further opening, the question being propounded, that this paper, offered by Sir Christopher Pack, be further opened by him before it be read, the previous question passed in the negative. Then the question being propounded, that this paper, offered by Sir Christopher Pack be now read, upon the main question being put, it was resolved, that it be now read: the same was read accordingly, and was entitled "The humble Address and Remonstrance of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth." And the debate thereon was determined to be resumed the next day; and on the next day, Tuesday the 24th February, it was resolved, that this paper be read to-morrow morning in parts, beginning at the first article after the preamble. This address and remonstrance continued in almost daily debate till the end of the March following, (1657,) when it terminated in the humble petition and advice, which was, on the 31st of that month, presented to Cromwell by the Speaker, in the name of the Parliament, at the Banqueting-house, in great state; which was received by the clerk of the Parliament, and to which His Highness gave answer. This answer is not in the Journals.

Whitelock says of this petition and advice,—the Parliament had been long about the settlement of the nation, and had framed an instrument, which they styled "The humble Petition and

Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to His Highness." That the first object of it was, for the Protector to have the title of King; that it was presented to him by the House, and he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him about it; which was named; and that he, Whitelock, being one of the committee, was named chairman; that when the committee attended His Highness, Whitelock addressed him upon the point of the title of King, giving his reasons why he should accept of it; that the Protector urged his reasons against it, and Whitelock replied; that the whole debate, he (Whitelock) adds, was in print.

Journals, Saturday, April 4. (1657.) This day, Mr. Whitelock, as chairman of the committee, reported to the House the committee's attendance upon His Highness, and his answer. (Not in the Journals.) The question being propounded, That this House doth adhere to their humble petition and advice; upon the main question being put, the House divided:—noes, with the tellers, General Disbrow and Colonel Hewson, 65;—yeas, with the tellers, General Montague and Sir John Hobart, 78. Therefore resolved in the affirmative.

Resolved, That the House would repair to His Highness, the Protector, to acquaint him with the vote of the preceding Saturday; and that the House do then present such reasons to His Highness therein as shall be agreed upon by this

House; and a committee appointed to prepare these reasons.

April 7. Mr. Whitelock reports the preparation of these reasons, which were read and agreed to by the House; the substance of which was, that they had, for the reasons therein mentioned, thought fit to adhere to this their advice, and to put His Highness in mind of the great obligation which rested upon him in respect of this advice; and again to desire him to give his assent thereunto.

Same, April 7. The Lord Chief Justice reported, from the committee appointed to attend His Highness, that he had appointed the next day to meet the Parliament, in the Banqueting-house, in Whitehall.

April 9. The Speaker reports to the House the effect of His Highness's speech, in answer to the address made by the House, at the meeting with the House yesterday.

A committee appointed to wait upon the Protector, in reference to what he did yesterday propose in his speech, then reported to the House; and to receive his doubts and scruples touching any of the particulars contained in the humble petition and advice, and in answer thereunto, to offer to His Highness reasons, for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the resolutions of this House; and, such particulars as they cannot satisfy His Highness in, that they report the same to the Parliament.

Saturday, April 11. Mr. Secretary (Thurloe) reported, that he was, by His Highness's command, to give the House some account of a design lately discovered; and produced a book printed called "A Standard," and likewise the painted standard which was taken, being a red lion couchant, with this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?"

The attendance upon the Protector deferred from day to day, on account of his indisposition, till the 21st April; when Mr. Whitelock acquainted the House that he had attended His Highness yesterday, who was pleased to speak something to what had been formerly offered; and had a paper, wherein he said were contained some other things which he had to offer to the committee, and desired another time to be appointed for that purpose; and on the next day (22d) he, Mr. Whitelock, reported, that His Highness had offered to them a paper, containing several scruples about several things in the petition and advice.

April 23. Mr. Whitelock reports the proceedings of the committee, and the substance of His Highness's speech to them on the 21st of this month, and two papers delivered by His Highness; all which were approved by the House. The report was read by parts, and divers resolutions adopted.

Thursday, April 30. The same committee who had attended the Lord Protector with the humble petition and advice, to attend him with the several resolves of Parliament, touching the matter, and to desire him to appoint a time for the House attending him for his positive resolution and answer thereto.

May 2. The Master of the Rolls reported, from the committee, their attendance upon His Highness yesterday, with the resolves, which he took some time to consider of, and promised that he would give a speedy answer.

The House, continues Whitelock, were busy in debating the last report made by him, in the business of the title of King; and finally came to some resolutions therein, which were not all of them pleasing to His Highness. He adds, that he, Whitelock, declined the first delivery to the Parliament of the petition and advice, not liking several things in it; but that Sir Christopher Pack, to gain honour, presented it first to the House; and then the Lord Broghill, Glynn, Whitelock, and others, put it forward.

That the Protector often advised about this, and other great businesses, with the Lord Broghill, Pierrepoint, Whitelock, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would be shut up, three or four hours together, in private discourse, and none were permitted to come in to him; and that he would sometimes be very cheerful with them, and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with them, and, by way of diversion, would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy: that he commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself; then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with them in those affairs; and that this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted and allowed by him in most of his greatest affairs.

Journals, May 12. Mr. Speaker, according to former order, reported to the House the Protector's speech on Friday last, at Whitehall, in answer to the humble petition and advice presented to him by the Parliament, declining the title of King.

After several days' debate, the question being propounded on Tuesday, the 19th May, That Lord Protector shall be the title to be inserted in the humble petition and advice; and that it be referred to a committee to consider how that title may be bounded, limited, and circumstantiated; and the previous question being put (that that question be now put), the House divided: — Sir John Hobart, Sir Richard Lucy, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 46; Sir John Copleston, Colonel Bingham, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 47: so it passed in the affirmative. And the main question being put, the House was again divided: — Lord Deputy, Lord Strickland, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 77; Lord Broghill, Sir William Roberts, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 45: and so it was resolved, That Lord Protector should be the title to be inserted into the humble petition and advice; and that it be referred to a committee to consider how that title might be bounded, limited, and circumstantiated.

Friday, May 22. Sir Lislebone Long reported from the committee, to whom it was referred to bound the title of Lord Protector, the resolution of that committee thereupon: — That Your Highness will be pleased, by and under the name and style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate of these nations, and to govern according to this petition and advice, in all things therein contained, and in all other things according to the laws of these nations, and not otherwise; which was read. The main question was put, — That this House doth agree with the committee. The House was divided: — Sir Lislebone Long, Mr. William Lister, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 53; Attorney of the Duchy and Mr. Grove, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 50: it was resolved, That this House doth agree with the committee herein. The question being put, That this paragraph, "That Your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate of these nations, and to govern according to this petition and advice in all things therein contained, and in all other things according to the laws of these nations, and not otherwise," it passed with the negative; and resolved, That instead of that paragraph this clause be inserted, namely, the forementioned first resolution upon the report.

Saturday, May 23. Resolved, upon the main question, That a committee be appointed to attend upon His Highness the Lord Protector with this humble petition and advice; and that the committee do wait upon His Highness so soon as the House riseth.

Monday, May 25. The Lord Chief Justice Glynn reports this attendance, and the Protector's appointment for that morning, at ten of the clock, in the painted chamber.

Resolved, That this petition and advice be carried up by the House, and presented to the Lord Protector, who is to be acquainted by Mr. Speaker what alteration hath been made in it; and that the said alteration be read, and if His Highness should desire it, the whole petition and advice; and that thereupon His Highness's assent be desired to the whole petition and advice. The House attending accordingly, His Highness gave his consent. It consists of eighteen articles, given at length by Whitelock.

Journals, May 27. (1657.) The House, according to former order, proceeded upon the report made yesterday by Mr. Speaker. The additional votes to the petition and advice were read. Resolved, That all the rest of the votes be read; and they were read accordingly. Ordered, That these resolves be referred to a committee, to peruse and methodise them; and to prepare one or more bills thereupon. Resolved, That the debate, conconcerning the constitution of Parliaments, the distribution of members to sit in Parliaments, and continuance of Parliaments, be taken up in the House on this day seven-night, and nothing to intervene.

Whitelock gives a particular description of the ceremony of the Protector's inauguration in Westminster Hall, on the 26th June, 1657.

August. News of the death of General (or Admiral) Blake, on ship-board, in his return from the Spanish coast. He, says Whitelock, was a man of as much gallantry and sincerity as any in his time, and as successful. He was interred, he adds, in Westminster Abbey, with great ceremony.

Lord Clarendon, relating the victories over the Spanish fleet by Admiral Blake, and his (the Admiral's) death in his way home, and his burial, with great state, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, says of him, that he was a man of a private expense, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. That he was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness and freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King. After having done eminent service to the Parliament at land, he betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ships and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again: that he was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them: that he was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and that, though he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

December 11. Writs of summons, continues Whitelock, under the Great Seal, were sent to divers persons to sit in the ensuing Parliament as members of the other or Upper House of Parliament, in all sixty; amongst whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families and good estates, and some colonels and officers of the army: he gives their names.

January 20. The Parliament met according to their adjournment, and also the members of the other House, and sat in the Lord's House. The Protector came thither; and the Speaker, with the House of Commons, being sent for by the black rod, came to the Lord's House, where the Protector made a solemn speech to them, but was short, by reason of his indisposition of health; and after him the Lord Commissioner Fiennes spake at considerable length.

Journals, January 21. The Speaker reported to the House of Commons the above speech of the Protector. The House of Lords, says Whitelock, appointed a committee for privileges, and a committee for petitions, and sent to the House of Commons for a day of humiliation to be appointed. The messengers were two of the judges, who all sat assistants, as formerly, in the House of Lords.

January 25. The Speaker reported the above speech of the Lord Commissioner Fiennes. A letter from the Protector to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, was this day read, desiring a meeting with them in the Banqueting-house, at three of the clock in the afternoon, where they accordingly met; and he, says Whitelock, exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the petition and advice.

Journals, January 29. Mr. Nathaniel Bacon reports from the committee appointed yesterday to attend His Highness with some resolves of this House, concerning his speech made in the Banqueting-house on the 25th instant. That the committee in a full appearance attended His Highness at the withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, and presented to him the resolves of this House; and further reported the substance of His Highness's answer to the committee: the which was read, and was as follows: —

That His Highness could not have looked upon the committee as a committee of the House of Commons, had he not seen the paper and the persons of the committee.

That what he spake in the Banqueting-house was delivered to both the Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons; and that he was exceeding tender of the breach of privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain. And that he did not know nor was satisfied, that it was not against the privilege of either House for him to give an answer to either of the Houses apart.

That he spake to the House those things that did lie upon his own heart; and that he did acquaint them honourably and plainly how things stood, in matters of fact; but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines.

That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to money, and found some particulars short and some over; but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in the capacity that he is in.

Journals, January 29. The House, according to former order, took into consideration what answer they would return to the message brought from the other House by Mr. Justice Wyndham and Mr. Baron Hill, on Friday last, and resolved that this debate be adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine of the clock.

The question being propounded, That the House shall be resolved into a grand committee to-morrow morning, at nine of the clock, to take the matter now in debate into consideration, the numbers were, upon the previous question, Sir Thomas Rous, Mr. Windham, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 78; Sir John Thorowgood, Sir John Coppleston, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 84: so it passed with the affirmative. And the main question being put, it passed with the negative.

January 30. The House resumed the debate, concerning an answer to be returned to the message from the other House.

Resolved, That the first thing to be debated shall be, the appellation of the persons to whom the answer shall be made; and adjourned the debate to Monday; and which was again adjourned.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House that there were two of the judges without at the door, with a message from the Lords. The question being put, That the messengers be now called in, it was resolved in the affirmative.

The messengers were called in; and Mr. Justice Wyndham and Mr. Justice Newdigate acquainted the House that they were commanded by the Lords to desire of this House, that they would join with that House in an address to His Highness the Lord Protector, that he would be pleased to issue a proclamation by the advice of both Houses of Parliament, commanding all Papists, and all other persons who had been in arms against the Commonwealth, by a certain day, to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and the late lines of communication, and twenty miles of the same; and not to return to the said cities or either of them during the space of three months, nor to any other place within the limits aforesaid, save only to such place or places in the country where such person or persons aforesaid had habitations. The same message was also delivered in writing; but the House informed the messengers, that they would send their answer by messengers of their own.

Thursday, February 4. The House resumed the debate touching the appellation of the other House; but the Speaker informing the House that the usher of the black rod was at the door, with a message from His Highness; he was called in, and delivered his message in these words: "Mr. Speaker, His Highness is in the Lords' House, and desires to speak with you;" whereupon the question was adjourned to the House's return, and the Speaker went with the House to His Highness, who declared the Parliament dissolved.

Whitelock, referring to the above proceedings between the two Houses, observes, that Sir Arthur Heselrigge and some others, would not allow the House of Lords; fomenting by their dissatisfied spirits a difference between the two Houses. That this caused distaste in the other House, and in the Protector, and was contrary to what themselves had, at their last meeting, assented unto. That many were against calling them the House of Lords, and some were against the having such another House; perhaps, because they were not thought fit to be members of it; and others were against it upon other fancies, and upon a spirit of contradiction; and some spake reproachfully, in the House of Commons, of the other House.

The commissioners of the seal and of the treasury, the judges, and many others, were nominated commissioners under the great seal for the trial of the present conspirators, and Whitelock was one of them, but never sat with them, it being against his judgment. That Sir Roger Mostyn was secured and a prisoner at Conway; his liberty was procured upon his parol to be at his own house at Mostyn, engaging not to do any thing prejudicial to the present government. Sir John Borlace and several others were also secured. Thirty apprentices, prisoners in the Tower upon this new plot, were examined: it was advised that lenity should be used towards them. He relates the trial of Dr. Hewet before the new high court of justice: he did not, he says, carry himself prudently.

June 6. News of the total defeat of the Spanish army, which came to relieve Dunkirk, and of the gallant service performed by the English, wherein the Lord Ambassador Lockhart gained much honour.

June 8. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were beheaded at Tower Hill.

June 15. Audience to the Duke of Crequi and Monsieur Mancini, sent from the King of France and from the Cardinal Mazarine, to the Protector, to congratulate the success of the King's and the Protector's joint forces, and to compliment His Highness; who answered their compliments, and expressed like affection to the alliance with His Majesty of France.

June 21. Intelligence of the surrender of Dunkirk, and that the King of France, the Cardinal, and General Lockhart, had entered the town with their forces, and that Lockhart was put into the possession and command of it.

August 7. (1658.) News of the death of the Lady Elizabeth Claypoole yesterday, at Hampton-court. She, says Whitelock, was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, and civil to all persons, and courteous and friendly to all her acquaintance. Her death did much grieve her father, who was then ill at Hampton-court, as was thought, of an ague. And that this day, September 3., about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Protector died at Hampton-court, on the same day that he had obtained the victories at Dunbar and at Worcester. He now went to rest in the grave, after his many great actions and troubles — he now died quietly in his bed.

CHAPTER VIII.

CROMWELL'S FAMILY DESCENT ILLUSTRIOUS, PATERNAL AND MATERNAL. — HIS BIRTH. — EARLY LIFE. — EDUCATION. — ENTRY AT SIDNEY COLLEGE. — HIS SCHOLARSHIP. — HIS MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN. — CHARACTER OF THE PROTECTRESS VINDICATED. — THE PURITY OF HIS COURT. — HIS DISCOURAGEMENT OF VICE, AND THE AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL MANNERS. — HIS HUMANITY AND KINDNESS TO HIS ENEMIES. — HIS LIBERAL CONDUCT TOWARDS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. — HIS CHARACTER BY MR. MAIDSTON. — HIS PRIVATE CHARACTER VINDICATED AS A HUSBAND, A PARENT, A FRIEND, AND IN ALL OTHER ITS RELATIONS AND CONNECTIONS.

THE discussion of Cromwell's character, both public and private, will properly follow his death. This will be best and most impartially collected from the preceding extracts, aided by such collateral circumstances as may be derivable from other equally authentic sources. No one's memory has been more harshly treated than Cromwell's: he has been pursued from his cradle to his tomb. Almost every valuable quality has been denied to him; and, most extraordinary to say, even his courage (but, it is believed, by one writer only) has been impeached. The illustriousness of his family has also been, by some writers, affected to be doubted, or reluctantly allowed him.

It is certainly much more honourable to be good and great in ourselves, than, without any merit of our own, to derive all our consequence from illustrious ancestry: a good descent is nevertheless held in a certain degree of estimation and respect, and nothing can better prove its value in the eye of the world, than the eagerness with which it is claimed by those who frequently have no pretensions to it.

The pedigree from which Mr. Noble, in his Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell, principally takes the lineage of Cromwell remains in that family, and is correctly given from thence. Sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams (Cromwell's great grandfather), who was the son of Morgan Williams, who married, as appears by the pedigree, a sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, appears to have been the first of his family that bore the name of Cromwell. The above Morgan Williams's father, whose name was William ap Yevan, appears in the pedigree to have been in some service of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, King Henry the Seventh's uncle, and also of that King himself. Mr. Noble says his, Morgan Williams's, marriage with the Earl of Essex's sister has been disputed; but the statement of this circumstance in the pedigree ascertains that fact. His naming his second son Walter, which was the Christian name of the Earl's father, is a further proof, if any were wanting. Mr. Noble gives verbatim the title of this pedigree, which renders its repetition unnecessary. It thereby appears to have been prepared in 1602, in the lifetime and by the direction of Sir Henry Cromwell, (who, Mr. Noble says, from the Huntingdon parish register, died in 1603, and who was the son of the above Sir Richard Cromwell,) by Ralph Brooke, York herald; which leaves no room for doubt of the correctness of its statements. It commences with Glothyan, Lord of Powys, who married Morveth, the daughter and heir of Edwin ap Tydwell, Lord of Cardigan: the time in which they lived is not mentioned; but by a note respecting their son, it appears that he, the son, died about the time of the Norman conquest; consequently the commencement of the pedigree must be about 1066.

Against Sir Richard Cromwell's name in the pedigree is the following note:—"The first of May, 1540, a solemne tryumph was held at Westminster, before King Henry VIII. by Sir Jo. Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers, which was proclaimed in France, Spayne, Scotland, and Flanders. The 2d day at tourney, Sir Rich. Cromwell overthrewe Mr. Palmer of his horse. And the 5th day at barryers, he likewise overthrewe Mr. Culpep; to his and the challengers' great ho." Mr. Noble gives, from Stow, a particular account of this jousting; and adds from Fuller's Church History, that when the King saw Sir Richard's prowess, he was so enraptured that he exclaimed, "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;" and thereupon dropped a diamond ring from his finger, which Sir Richard taking up, His Majesty presented it to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the foregamb of the demy lion, in his crest, instead of the javelin; and which, says Mr. Noble, the elder branch of the Cromwells constantly did, as did the Protector himself upon his assumption of that title; but that before, he used the same crest of the lion, only with the javelin in his paw. This may be questionable, but is immaterial. The above Sir Henry, the eldest son of Sir Richard Cromwell, appears by the pedigree to have been knighted in the 6th year of Queen Elizabeth (1563); and it appears in a book giving an account of the Queen's reception at the University of Cambridge, in 1564, intituled The Triumphs of the Muses, by Dr. Nicholas Robinson, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, that the Queen, upon her departure from Cambridge, rode to dinner to a house of the Bishop of Ely, at Stanton, and from thence to her bed at Hinchinbrooke, a house of Sir Henry Cromwell's in Huntingdonshire. Sir Henry's eldest son, Sir Oliver Cromwell, married, first Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord High Chancellor of England: his second wife was Lady Ann, the widow of Sir Horatio Palavicini of Babraham in Cambridgeshire. Mr.

Noble says, from Morgan's Sphere of Gentry, that Sir Oliver was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1598, 40th year of her reign: and he adds from Stow and other writers, that he entertained King James several times, namely, in 1603, in his coming from Scotland, upon his accession to the crown of England, in the most sumptuous manner, from the 27th to the 29th of April, and in 1616, and 1617; and Mr. Noble thinks that he also entertained King Charles the First, probably, more than once, upon his going to and in his return from the north. Previously to his coronation, the King (James) created Sir Oliver a Knight of the Bath. Mr. Noble adds, from the Journals of the House of Commons, that he appears to have been a conspicuous member from the year 1604 to 1610, and also in 1614, 1623, and 1624, during which years he is oftener named upon committees than any other member; also, that his name occurs once in a committee in the first parliament of King Charles I. This is correct: he was of a committee to which a bill for the increase of timber and wood was referred. He supposes he sat for Huntingdon; but it appears from a search now made at the crown-office, that he sat for the county of Huntingdon. The same writer says, that Sir Oliver was not an idle spectator in the civil wars; for that, remembering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause; for which purpose he not only, at a very heavy expense, raised men and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms and go into the royal army, and that he was of greater use to His Majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Parliament; and that the great expenses that this attachment to an unfortunate party put him to, obliged him to dispose of his grand seat of Hinchinbrooke, which he sold to Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague, of Boughton. And that after this sale he resided at Ramsey, where he continued till his death; which, Mr. Noble says, from the register of the parish, was 28th August, 1655, in the 93d year of his age, and where he was buried. His estates appear to have been very large.

Sir Oliver Cromwell's eldest son Henry's first wife was, as Mr. Noble says, and as appears in the pedigree, Battina, daughter of the above Sir Horatio Palavicini; and his third wife, (who is not noticed in the pedigree,) he says, from the register of Ramsey, was Lady Elizabeth Ferrers, (she was the widow of Sir John Ferrers,) whom he there appears to have married, May 4th, 1642. In the first edition of his work, he (Mr. Noble) declares himself ignorant of his second wife's name, only that her Christian name was Mary. In the third edition, he says, she was Lucy, daughter of Sir Richard Dyer, of Great Stoughton, in Huntingdonshire, and widow of Sir Edward Car, of Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln. Accordingly so it appears in a small book in the possession of the Cromwell family, appearing to have been her pocket-book (covered with gold stuff or brocade) in her own hand-writing, wherein she describes herself (not giving her Christian name) as having been married to Sir Edward Carre, the 11th October, 1607; and then gives the issue of that marriage, the only daughter of which was Lucy, which was probably her mother's name, and not Mary. She then describes herself as having been married to Mr. Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, 9th August, 1619, at Upwood, and gives the issue of that marriage; the names of whom and times of their birth correspond with Mr. Noble's account of Henry Cromwell's last eight children, only Mr. Noble gives the times of their baptisms; she gives the names of the godfathers and godmothers of these children; amongst whom are, — the Lady Bridget Carre, the Earl of Somerset, the Countess of Bedford, the Lord Fitzwilliam, the Lady Peyton of Doddington, the Countess of Bolinbrooke, the Lady Arabella St. John, Sir Thomas Peyton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Thomas Grantham, the Lady Mary Dymoke, Sir Peregrine Bertie, &c. Mr. Noble gives a ninth daughter of this marriage, named Elizabeth, the first daughter of that name dying in her infancy. It appears, from his extracts from the parish-register of Ramsey, that this second wife was buried at Ramsey, January 12. 1639–40; and that Henry Cromwell died September 18. 1657, and was buried in the chancel of the same church. He says, from the Journals of the House of Commons, that he was a very active man for the royal party; and that he was one of the members for the county of Huntingdon. The pedigree terminates with the issue of Sir Oliver Cromwell.

Amongst the collateral branches of the family are to be found in the pedigree the St. Johns; and, amongst others of that name, Oliver St. John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe; Edward Lord Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Admiral of England in Queen Elizabeth's reign; William Lord Howard, Chamberlain to the same Queen; Richard Gray, Lord Powis; Edward Lord Dudley: these are in the line of Sir Richard Cromwell: — in the next line are Henry Cary, Baron of Hundsdon, Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England; Anthony Browne; Viscount Montacute: — in the next line, William Howard Earl of Effingham; Thomas Manners Earl of Rutland; and two of Sir Henry Cromwell's daughters, married into the Hampdens' and the Barringtons' families. It is probable that from the St. John's family the name of Oliver came into the Cromwell family.

The above Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was the great favourite and prime minister of King

Henry the VIIIth, and his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and as such, says Bishop Burnet, had the precedence of all persons in the kingdom, next to the royal family: he was also a Knight of the Garter. The Bishop describes him as the great support and vigorous promoter of the Reformation, and speaks highly of his great abilities as a statesman, and of his personal worth in private life; of the latter of which he gives, from contemporary histories, some instances. The then prevailing influence of the Popish party procured his attainder, upon which he was condemned without a hearing, and suffered death by beheading on the 28th of July, 1540, falling a sacrifice to his zeal for the Reformation. He left a son, Gregory, who was, soon after his death, created Baron Cromwell, of Okeham, in the county of Rutland, and afterwards made a Knight of the Bath. He married, according to the Cromwell family-pedigree, Elizabeth, sister to Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset.

Mr. Noble has treated so largely of the Cromwell family and its alliances, that less would have been here said of them, had not Lord Clarendon, and some other writers of the royal party, shown themselves anxious of every opportunity to treat slightingly and contemptuously Cromwell's descent and family-connections and consequence, in the outset of his life. His Lordship, in relating the circumstances of the debate of the remonstrance in the Long Parliament, speaks of him as at that time but little noticed. In his character, upon his death, he describes him as of a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship; also, upon his first appearance in Parliament, as having been a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander-by. Sir Philip Warwick says, that the first time he ever noticed him was in the very beginning of the Long Parliament (1640), when he, Sir Philip, vainly thought himself a courtly young gentleman; for, he adds, we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes: that he, Sir Philip, came into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom he knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for that it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and he remembered a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for that the subject-matter could not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynn, who had dispersed libels against the Queen for her dancing and such like innocent and courtly sports; and that he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table, unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. Sir Philip adds: I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet, says Sir Philip, I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real (but usurped) power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company, in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. He says, in another place, that the interest of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell lay, the one in Huntingdonshire and the other in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Hume says: Oliver, at that time a young man of no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates as complaining of one who, he was told, preached flat Popery. He adds, it is amusing to observe the first words of this fanatical hypocrite correspond so exactly to his character. Mr. Hume here refers to a passage in Rushworth, mentioning the report from the committee to whom the consideration of the pardons granted by the King since the last session, to certain persons questioned in Parliament, had been referred. In this passage he, Rushworth, says, the reporter informed the House that they did find, upon examination, that Dr. Sibthorpe and Mr. Cosins did solicit the obtaining of their own pardons; and that they said the Bishop of Winchester should get the King's hand to them; and that it did also appear to the committee that the Bishop of Winchester did promise the procuring Mr. Montague's pardon; that Dr. Manwaring solicited his own pardon, and that the Bishop of Winchester got the King's hand to it. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, continues Rushworth, being of this committee, informed the House what countenance the Bishop of Winchester gave to some persons that preached flat Popery, and mentioned the persons by name, and how, by this Bishop's means, Manwaring (who by censure the last Parliament had been disabled for ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and had confessed the justice of that censure) was nevertheless preferred to a rich living: if, adds he (Cromwell), these be the steps to church preferment, what may we expect? It should be observed, that this was said in the third Parliament of the King's reign, (which Parliament commenced the 17th March, 1627,) when Cromwell was not quite twenty-eight years of age. Mr. Hume has unfairly mutilated this short, or rather, probably, part of a longer speech; but it is not easy to discover, either in the passage given by Rushworth, or in the part of it given by Mr. Hume, the fanatical hypocrisy of Cromwell; it seems to be an observation naturally arising out of the facts disclosed by the report, and sufficiently well expressed for the purpose intended. The preaching, here mentioned, refers to Dr. Manwaring's sermons recommending the forced loan; some account whereof has been already given in an early part of this history.

Sir Henry Cromwell's second son was Robert Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell's father. Mr. Noble says he represented Huntingdon in the Parliament 35 Eliz. He also says, that he was named a commissioner, in 1605, for draining the fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. His, Robert's, wife (Cromwell's mother) was Elizabeth, the daughter, some say, of Sir Richard Steward, Stewart, or Stuart; other authorities say, of Sir Thomas or Sir Robert. She is described, in an old pedigree of the Cromwell family, as co-heiress of her father (not giving his name) with her sister Mary, who married Sir Humphrey Foster. Mr. Noble, in his third edition, says, that she was the daughter of William Steward, of the city of Ely, Esq., and Widow of William Lynne, son and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Bassingbourne, Esq.; and who, he says, after remaining a widow about a year, married Robert Cromwell, Esq., by whom she had Oliver Cromwell and several other children. The following account of her family will show Cromwell's good descent on the maternal side. In the Cromwell family there is no account of her except the above; but

Mr. Noble, in his same third edition, says, that she was descended from the royal house of Stuart, which ruled many years the kingdom of Scotland, and has given several kings to England. The pedigree given by Mr. Noble commences with Alexander, Lord High Steward of Scotland; from which office, which was made hereditary, the family received their surname of Steward. He appears to have had two sons, John or James, Lord High Steward, and Andrew Steward, Esq. From James descended, in a right line, King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, and his sons Charles I. and Charles II. From Andrew Steward descended William, the father of Elizabeth Steward, who married Robert Cromwell.

By this table of descent, if correct, it appears, that King James, and consequently King Charles I., and Oliver Cromwell, were cousins.

Lord Hailes, in his annals of Scotland, says, that at Halidan, in 1333, two Stewarts fought under the banners of their chiefs; the one, Alan of Dughom, the paternal ancestor of Charles I., and the other, James of Rosythe, the maternal ancestor of Oliver Cromwell.

In the history of Ely, it appears that Dr. Robert Steward, one of the family, was the last prior, and, upon the Reformation, became the first dean of Ely. Some of the finest monuments in Ely cathedral are those of the Steward family.

The preceding accounts of Cromwell's family sufficiently prove, that Cromwell was not the obscure individual, either in or out of the House, that these writers wish him to be considered. His family interest, and probably his own talents, which appear very early to have disclosed themselves, procured him a seat for Huntingdon, his native place, in the third Parliament of the King's reign. Lord Clarendon, as before observed, describes him as early in the Long Parliament, but little noticed, and Sir Philip Warwick says he never noticed him till the beginning of that Parliament; and His Lordship, in his own life, describing Cromwell's violent conduct (as he deemed it) at a committee of the Commons in that Parliament, says that Cromwell had never before been heard to speak in the House. This assertion is proved not to be true, by the preceding account of his speech in the third Parliament (1627), and then, young as he was, he must have been of considerable account to have been a member of a committee of so much importance; and it is probable he had been chairman of that committee, as he seems to have been the reporter of their proceedings. But Cromwell's obscurity and insignificance in the eyes of His Lordship and Sir Philip, if they really thought him so contemptible, must be owing to their own late entrance into the House, and their consequent ignorance of the proceedings of former Parliaments; for, it appears, from the fore-mentioned life of His Lordship, that he (His Lordship) was not a member till the short Parliament of the 3d of April, 1640, when he was about 32 years of age. Sir Philip Warwick probably had not been in Parliament before the Long Parliament; his name is not in Rushworth's list of the names of the members of the April Parliament: but his (Sir Philip's) preceding account of the attention of the House to Cromwell's speech, trifling as Sir Philip describes the subject to have been, under all the alleged disadvantages of its delivery, and of his dress and appearance, prove him to have been at that time of no small consideration and importance in the House, which then contained the great abilities of the country. Mr. Noble says, that it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons, that he was in no less than twenty committees between 17th December 1641, and 20th June in the following year.

The same writer (Mr. Noble), from the writers of those times, describes Cromwell's father as (having a small fortune) carrying on a large brewing business, the accounts whereof, he says, were wholly attended to by his wife; who, after his decease, continued to carry it on; whereby she was enabled to give her daughters sufficient fortunes to marry them into genteel families. Dr. Harris gives the same account from Dugdale and other authorities, and very justly adds, that, if true, it could not be deemed discreditable to the family, the youngest brothers of the best families in this country engaging in trade, and thereby raising themselves to fortune and independency. It has been also said that Cromwell himself was engaged in the same business for his support. All this has been said by Cromwell's enemies, for the purpose of degrading him; but no evidence to be relied on is produced in support of these assertions. The truth is, nothing certain is likely to be known of his early life, or the pecuniary circumstances of his parents. But it should be observed, that Cromwell, in his speech to his Parliament, of 12th September, 1654, says, "I was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity;"—and that he had been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in Parliaments. This account of himself, publicly given in the face of the nation, open therefore to contradiction if not true, is surely a sufficient confutation of all the stories of his and his family's narrow circumstances, and their engagements in trade in consequence. Lord Clarendon, in his anxious desire to lower Cromwell's consequence, would not have omitted to avail himself of these circumstances, had he credited them. In Peck's Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Cromwell, are three panegyrics of Cromwell, supposed by Peck to have been written by Milton, upon different occasions; in the third of which he describes him as grown rich at home. The time of his birth is ascertained to have been upon the 25th April, 1599, and it appears to have been at Huntingdon. That his father, during his life, and his mother, after his father's death, were careful of his education, is probable; but his being first under the tuition of one person and then of another; his proficiency or non-proficiency in learning; his aspiring, stubborn, obstinate temper, incurring severe correction; and the accounts of the boisterousness of his disposition rendering him a terror to the neighbourhood; and, above all, the incredible story of his disagreement with, and giving the King's son, then Duke of York, afterwards King Charles, a blow, when at play at Hinchinbrooke; also his supposed dream of his future greatness, and his acting in the comedy of Lingua; — these must be the fabrications of the different writers after the Restoration, who chose to suppose there must be something marvellous and criminal in the very earliest moments of this extraordinary man's life. Indeed, it is quite improbable that all or any of the trifling incidents of his childhood and youth should have been noticed, and then preserved during a period of between fifty and sixty years; nor was it very likely that the witnesses to these things should have been then living, and in possession of memory and mental powers sufficient to have accurately remembered and related them. Lord Clarendon mentions Cromwell's supposed dream, commeatum sociorum, Aprilis 23. tutore magistro Howlet." This entry of Cromwell as a fellow-commoner is surely considerable proof of the ease of his father's circumstances, and of his family consideration and consequence. Cromwell was, at the time of this entry, within a few days of seventeen years of age. Mr. Hume says, that his genius was little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and that consequently he made small proficiencies in his studies: others describe him as dissolute and vicious, and of a rough and boisterous disposition, consequently but little disposed to study. — Sir Philip Warwick says he spent the first years of his manhood in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship and gaming; but, he does add, of which he afterwards seemed very sensible, and for which he was very sorrowful; and as if, says he, it had been a good spirit that had guided him therein, he used a good method upon his conversion; for that he declared he was ready to make restitution to any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged. To his honour, says he, I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgments men make of the public evils they have done, to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them. He adds, that when he was thus civilized, he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations. Mr. Noble probably refers to the same circumstance in mentioning his (Cromwell's) repayment of a sum of thirty pounds to a Mr. Calton, of whom he had won that sum; observing that he had obtained it in an unlawful manner, and could not, therefore, without sinning, detain it longer.

Mr. Noble gives this from a book entitled Heath's Flagellum, or Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, whom he describes as a very scurrilous low writer; and whose object in writing this book was well known to be to abuse his (Cromwell's) memory. That he should happen to relate the above circumstance, so honourable to it, is extraordinary. If to be credited, it would render very difficult of belief much that has been said of the hypocrisy and guilt of his subsequent life.

Great obstacles oppose themselves to the belief of these stories, independent of the length of time which had elapsed from the times of their supposed occurrence, to those of their relation. His father is described by Mr. Noble (how he is so informed he does not say) as a gentleman of good sense, and of competent learning, and fond of a private life. The youth of those days were not so forward as those of after-times; they were much longer under the strict authority of their parents: it is not therefore to be believed that, previous to the early age of sixteen or seventeen years, he could have become the outrageous character before described; it is impossible, particularly, that the story of his violent assault upon the King's son can be true. Supposing there had been provocation, he could at no age so far have forgotten himself as to strike his sovereign's son; nor is it likely that the Prince should have been permitted to amuse himself with other children, without attendants upon his person, who would have prevented such an outrage. This story has upon the face of it every appearance of absolute falsehood. At the time of the King's forementioned first visiting Hinchinbrooke, in his way from Scotland, which was in 1603, Cromwell was not more than four years old; and in 1616 and 1617, when the King is said again to have visited Hinchinbrooke, he must have been between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and the Prince one year older than him; and the two latter times Cromwell must have known better than thus to conduct himself, supposing nothing to have prevented him. At college, he is described by different historians, — one, to save the trouble of examination, following another, — as living a dissolute and disorderly course of life, being more famous whilst there for football, cricket, cudgelling, and wrestling, than for study, and as being of a rough and blustering disposition, acquiring the name of Royster. Some writers say, he continued at college one year, others two. Upon the strictest search and enquiry at the college, no trace is to be found there of the time of his quitting, and it is not likely that there should be any other authentic source of information, after the lapse of forty years to the Restoration. No ground, therefore, of belief is left that he quitted the college before the usual time of quitting, or that he misbehaved himself whilst there. The discipline may be presumed to have been very strict, and consequently the youth kept very orderly, to afford Archbishop Laud, then Bishop of London, cause to complain (as he does in his considerations, presented by him to the King in the year 1628, for better settling the church-government) of this college and of Emanuel being the nurseries of puritanism. All, therefore, that is related of Cromwell's dissipated life at college, and his short continuance there, must be wholly invention, for the purpose of vilifying him, and rendering him odious and contemptible from the very outset of his life. In the pursuit of this object, he is supposed to be sent by his mother to Lincoln's Inn, soon after his return from Cambridge, where his mind is said to have been ingrossed by the juice of the grape and the charms of the fair, with a habit of gaming, instead of attending to his law studies. For the purpose of carrying on the story, he is then described as returning to Huntingdon a finished rake, where he followed his vicious courses,—the taverns the chief places of his residence; but that his rude and boisterous behaviour prevented his equals consorting with him. This conduct, it is added, with forgetting to pay his reckoning, made him an unwelcome visitor, even to the publicans; nor were the young women less fearful of him, from the rude incivilities they received from him. This climax is reached by the relation of a story of his filthily bedaubing his clothes, and dancing in that state at a Christmas festival given by his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell; and by other irregularities, whereby he is said to have forfeited his uncle's good opinion. The stories of his excesses whilst in town, in Lincoln's Inn, must fall to the ground, because he never was there. The most diligent search has now been made, and his name is not found in its records; and Sir James Burrows, in his anecdotes and observations relating to Cromwell and his family, also says, that upon search his name does not there appear. Nor is it likely that, in those days, a youth of eighteen or nineteen years of age should be sent to an inn of court. His son Richard was certainly of that society. To conclude the subject of the supposed vices and follies of Cromwell's early life, — the short time allowed for their commission presents a powerful obstacle to the belief of them. Some of them do not belong to the early age of sixteen or seventeen; nor was he, during his father's life, likely to be guilty of excesses of any sort. If he remained only one year at college, he would be eighteen years of age when he quitted it; and he must have been married before he was twenty-one, his first child appearing to have been baptized in the year 1621, when he could not be more than about twenty-two; so that three years must have been the utmost of the vicious part of his life; but no evidence to be relied on is afforded of his having improperly quitted his college, or of his having resided in town, or of his having there or elsewhere lived a licentious life: his early marriage is a circumstance in favour of his previous sobriety. A letter is certainly referred to by some of the writers anxious to establish this fact as corroborative proof of these supposed irregularities: it is the first letter in Thurloe's state papers; it is dated Ely, 13th of October, 1638; and is addressed to his beloved cousin, Mrs. St. John. In it he says, "You know what my manner of life hath bine. O, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light: I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true, I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me." This is only a part of a letter. The writers that wish to establish this charge of irregularity deem this passage a strong proof of its truth: they say the words undoubtedly imply some personal vice, to which he (Cromwell) had been addicted. But by a strictly religious person, either of those times or of these times, they would not, it is conceived, be so construed. His living in and loving darkness, he means to say, Mrs. St. John knew to have been the manner of his life, and that his hatred of godliness rendered him the chief of sinners. This, it is conceived, would be the language of any person of the present day, who, after would Cromwell have permitted him, to have praised him in those particular instances, but would have passed them over in silence. On the contrary, the bringing them prominently forward to public notice unnecessarily upon this occasion, affords sufficient grounds for belief that he had been diligent in his studies in his early years, and orderly in his conduct; leaving no room for the belief of his having been the idle and profligate character described by Heath and other such writers; who found their best recommendation to the then ruling party to be, their unrestrained and unlimited abuse of Cromwell and his family.

In Waller's Life, by Dr. Johnson, he (Waller) is decribed as received by Cromwell, as his kinsman, to familiar conversation, who found him sufficiently versed in ancient history. Dr. Harris, in quoting this passage from an early edition of Waller's Life, uses the words, "Greek and Roman story," in which, he (Waller) says, "he was well read."

In Thurloe's State Papers is a letter from Beverning, the Dutch deputy in England, to Jongestall, at the Hague, dated August 12–22. 1653, wherein he says, "Last Saturday I had a discourse with His Excellency Cromwell above two hours, being without any body present with us. His Excellency spoke his own language so distinctly, that I could understand him. I answered again in Latin." Mr. Noble says he (Cromwell) answered, which is a mistake. Beverning writes to the same effect to Nieuport, on the same 22d of August. Although Cromwell did not here speak Latin, yet he must have well understood the language, as he could not then have had an interpreter with him, nobody being present at the meeting besides Cromwell and the writer; who, though he appears to have understood the English language when clearly and distinctly spoken to him, did not sufficiently understand it to converse in it; he therefore preferred carrying on the conversation in Latin, in which Cromwell must have been well versed to be able to continue it for more than two hours. Hence, it also appears that Cromwell spoke his own language well and correctly, and expressed himself clearly and intelligibly, and not in the confused manner generally attributed to him.

Whitelock, in his account of Cromwell's reception of the Swedish ambassador in 1655, when Protector, says, the ambassador spoke in the Swedish language, and that after he had done, being but short, his secretary did interpret it in Latin; and that after the interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English. That this speech was not interpreted, because the ambassador understood English; and that after it was done, the ambassador gave copies of his speech in Swedish and in Latin to the Protector. This is surely a further proof of Cromwell's familiar acquaintance with the Latin tongue, in which he would probably have answered the ambassador, had he not understood English. The same writer, in his journal of his Swedish embassy in the years 1653 and 1654, also says, that at a dinner at Grocer's Hall, in the city of London, Cromwell discoursed in Latin with the Swedish ambassador.

Enough, it is conceived, has been said in disproof of the common assertion of Cromwell's deficiency in the knowledge of the Latin language, and of his own tongue, and of his supposed early loss of time in idleness and dissipation.

Dr. Harris gives a passage from the life of Dr. Manton, to show that the Doctor, having an opportunity to examine Cromwell's library, found it a noble collection; adding, "Manton was a judge."

Mr. Noble says that it must not be forgot that he (Cromwell) ever patronised men of learning and science, but he does not enumerate them. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says, though Cromwell was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning, and learned men; that he settled one hundred pounds a year on a divinity professor in Oxford, and purchased and gave twenty-four rare Greek manuscripts to the Bodleian Library; that he erected and endowed a college in Durham, for the benefit of the northern counties, Mr. Frankland, Master of Arts, being one of the first fellows. But that these, and some other designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.

Another instance of Cromwell's attention to men of learning, and of his freedom from religious prejudice, is his care of Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, in which station he continued till the dissolution of the hierarchy by the civil wars. He lost all his revenues in Ireland, by the Irish rebellion. The Protector, says Neal, had a high esteem of this excellent prelate, and consulted him about the proper measures for advancing the Protestant interest at home and abroad. He died 21st March, 1655, in the 76th year of his age, and was buried, says Whitelock, in Westminster Abbey, and two hundred pounds were given by Cromwell to defray the expenses of his funeral. In the preface to the sermon then preached by Dr. Nicholas Bernard (remaining with the Cromwell family papers) it is said that the great esteem His Highness (Cromwell) had of him had been manifested, not only in his funeral, but in extending afterwards to his, what was before intended to himself, in the grant of some of the lands of the primacy of Armagh, for twenty-one years. And in the life of the Archbishop, contained in the same sermon, it is said, that in his distresses by his losses in Ireland, the Parliament, for some years, had been bountiful towards him in an annual stipend; but that the last two years of their sitting it fell out to be suspended; and that after their dissolving the care of him was renewed by His Highness the Lord Protector, by whose order a competent allowance was given him for his subsistence, which contented him, and which he (Dr. Bernard) received from him (Cromwell) to his (the Archbishop's) last, with other very considerable sums extraordinary. Neal says of the Archbishop, that he was one of the most learned men of his age, that he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory withal, and was a most pious, humble, and modest Christian.

Dr. Harris mentions, from Howe's Life by Calamy, another instance of Cromwell's regard to, and encouragement of, literary merit; — that Dr. Seth Ward, (after the Restoration, Bishop of Exeter and Sarum successively,) standing candidate, in the year 1657, for the principalship of Jesus College, in Oxford, lost it through means of Cromwell's pre-engagement to another. But that, upon being informed of the merit and learning of Ward, (who had succeeded the very learned Mr. John Greaves, as astronomy professor, in that University,) he received and conversed with him with great freedom; and enquiring of the value of the principalship, promised to allow him the like sum annually.

Dr. Harris adds, from different writers, that when Cromwell was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and within a year after his assuming the Protectorate, he, at his own charge, bestowed on the public library there, twenty-five ancient manuscripts, ten of which were in folio, and fourteen in quarto; all in Greek except two or three. This must be the forementioned donation Neal refers to; that he also ordered to a private divinity reader there, (newly chosen to that place,) an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum out of the exchequer, for his encouragement; that when the great design was on foot of publishing the Polyglott, by Dr. Walton, Cromwell permitted the paper to be imported duty free. And he adds, that it is a fact attested by his very enemies, that he hindered the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners, and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college or hall, which he had proposed to build and endow there.

Cromwell married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, Mr. Noble says, August 22. 1620, at St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, London, which he seems, by a note, to take from MS. Register, Coll. Arm. London; but it seems that the parish-register of this marriage is not to be found. Mr. Noble says she survived Cromwell seven years, finding an asylum in the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Claypoole, at Norborough, in Lincolnshire, where she continued until her death, and was buried in a vault in the chancel of that church; but that no memorial is to be found to her memory. In his first edition he says, she died 16th September, 1672, aged 74, which he collects from an inscription on a tomb, within the communion rails of the chancel of the church of Wicken, in Cambridgeshire, but in this third edition he says, it is now incontestable that she was buried at Norborough. Mr. Noble appears to found his conviction of her interment at Norborough, upon a passage in the will of Cromwell Claypoole, the eldest son of Cromwell's daughter, Mrs. Claypoole, by which he directs the interment of his body to be at Norborough, as near his grandmother Cromwell as convenience would admit.

Cromwell had nine children, five of whom survived him; namely, Richard, who succeeded him in the Protectorate; Henry, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; Bridget, who married first General Henry Ireton, and then General Charles Fleetwood; Mary, married to Thomas, Viscount, afterwards Earl Fauconberg, and Frances, who married Robert Rich, grandson and heir apparent of Robert, Earl of Warwick, and afterwards Sir John Russell, Bart.; Elizabeth, his second daughter, who married Mr. Claypoole, died in less than a month before her father.

Up to the time of Cromwell's marriage, which was soon after he came of age, no evidence, to be relied on, has been brought forward sufficient to prove the alleged dissoluteness and profligacy of his former life; but there is much reason for the belief of the contrary. His conjugal fidelity, or his moral character since his marriage, have never been seriously impeached. From the time of his marriage to the year 1636, he appears to have resided at Huntingdon, the baptisms of eight of his children being in the register of the parish of St. John Baptist, in that town; the last on the 9th of February of that year. Between that time and the year 1638, he must have removed to Ely, his last child, Frances, appearing in the register of St. Mary in Ely, kept at St. Mary's church at Cambridge, to have been baptized at Ely in the December of that year. And so far forward as 1649, he appears to have considered himself a resident of Ely, being described as the Right Honourable Oliver Cromwell, of Ely, in a settlement remaining in the Cromwell family papers, dated 28th April, 1649, made previous to the marriage of his son Richard Cromwell, with Dorothy Major. He must have removed very soon after the birth of the above eighth child; as, in the records of the dean and chapter of Ely, (with the inspection whereof the writer hath been favoured by the present most respectable dean,) is a lease, dated the — and-twentieth day of October, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles I., which was in 1637, (with a copy whereof the writer has been also favoured,) whereby the dean and chapter demise to him, Cromwell, therein described, of Ely, Esq., for a term of twenty-one years, at rents of 48 pounds, and 20 pounds, and a certain portion of wheat, the rectory of the Holy Trinity, and the blessed Mary the Virgin of Ely, within the town of Ely, and the chapel of Chetesham, within the Isle of Ely, and a barn called the Sextrey barn, and divers parcels of land, and the tithes of the said rectory in Ely and Chetesham. And it also appears from the same records, that leases were granted to him, Cromwell, by the same dean and chapter, of other large farms in the same Isle of Ely, in the fourteenth year of the same reign (1639), for the like term of twenty-one years. In these several farms he appears to have succeeded his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, to whom leases thereof had been theretofore granted.

Cromwell, from the above circumstances, appears to have been a regular settled character, as a husband and the father of a large and increasing family, from his attainment of the age of twenty-one years, first at Huntingdon, and then at Ely; it is therefore curious to observe the different writers of his life and acts gravely relating, from no authority to be relied on, the one from the other without examination, the various instances of his supposed early profligacy and later private misconduct. The object of the first writers undoubtedly was, to recommend themselves to the then ruling powers, by vilifying and traducing the memory of Cromwell and his family, which they knew they could do with impunity, and without fear of contradiction, in its then fallen and perilous state. But it should not be forgotten that more than fifty years had elapsed since the occurrence of some of these supposed misdeeds; and though fewer, yet very many years since that of others, and no record likely to have been made of them at the time; many of them also carrying with them their own confutation. Had the power of Cromwell and his family continued, nothing of the kind would have appeared: the writers of Cromwell's time discovered in him no faults; Dryden and Waller could not praise him too highly, though sufficiently ready to abuse him and his family on their reverse of fortune.

Waller, in one of his poems addressed to Cromwell, says:—

> Your private life did a just pattern give,
> How fathers, husbands, pious sons, should live.
> Born to command, your princely virtues slept,
> Like humble David's, while the flock he kept.

Another verse, referring to his family extraction:—

> One, whose extraction from an ancient line,
> Gives hope again that well-born men may shine,
> The meanest, in your nature mild and good,
> The noble, rest secured in your blood.

The following is the last verse of Dryden's heroic stanzas on the death of Cromwell:—

His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest;
His name a great example stands, to shew
How strangely high endeavours may be blest,
Where piety and valour jointly go.

All Cromwell's supposed excesses are, it is observable, confined to the years preceding his coming of age; because then he is to be produced in a state of repentance preparatory to his marriage, which is supposed to have been brought about by his relations, the Hampdens and the Barringtons; and then, it is said, that his settling part of his paternal estate upon his wife, is a proof that he had not spent it, as some imagined, adding, that there had not been time for it.

Then comes a charge of a very serious nature, of his endeavouring to mend his supposed broken fortune, by annexing the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, to his own, by representing him as a person unfit to govern it, and petitioning His Majesty for a commission of lunacy, which the King refused. But, most extraordinary to relate, this same uncle, for the purpose of reconciling this story with his uncle's will in his favour, is supposed to have been prevailed upon to forgive him, and to leave him his estate. This supposed attempt to deprive his uncle of his estate, would have been so atrocious and unpardonable, that the reasonable conclusion must be, that this disposition in favour of Cromwell proves the falsehood of the story. Mr. Noble, in his third edition, gives a copy of this will, which is dated January 29. 1635, by which he gives all his landed property to his nephew, Oliver Cromwell. He desires to be buried in the cathedral church of Ely, in the tomb of his grandfather.

In continuance of these farcical representations, Cromwell is now, upon his marriage, to become too good: the strictness of his manners, it is said, had recommended him to the notice of the austere non-conformists, who weaned him from the established church, and he became sometimes a preacher amongst them. This is not likely to be true; all his children appear, by the foregoing registers, to have been baptized according to the rites of the established church; nor are the above grants to him of the leases by the dean and chapter of Ely an inconsiderable proof that he had not yet become a non-conformist, which was at that time a hated character. Nor does he appear to have been considered by the then government as its inveterate enemy, although he had opposed some of its measures in the parliament of 1627.; for, in the sixth year of the reign of the King (1631), it appears, in the records of Huntingdon, that by the charter then granted to that town, Thomas Beard, D.D., Robert Barnard, Esq., and Oliver Cromwell, Esq., burgesses for their lives, together with the high-steward, the recorder, the mayor, the senior alderman, and the chamberlain for the time being, were created justices for that borough.

Huntingdon, it is said, soon became disagreeable to him, partly in consequence of his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell's loyalty, and his influence in the corporation of Huntingdon; of a supposed quarrel with Dr. Beard for precedency; and the supposed embarrassment of his fortune; all which is said to have determined him to quit the place; also, that he did not think it beneath him to commence farmer at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, to which place he is said to go upon leaving the place of his birth, and there to have injured his fortune by spending too much time with his servants in prayer, detaining them after dinner very late, to hear a market-lecture retailed, and the servants playing at cards to make up lost time, instead of ploughing and other businesses.

Mr. Noble says, that he finds nothing respecting the Cromwell family in the St. Ives's register; and there does not seem any interval for Cromwell's removal to and residence there, unless between 1631, the year of his son James's birth and burial, and the birth of Mary in 1636, during which five years Mr. Noble supposes him to have been resident at St. Ives, and then to have returned to Huntingdon, which is to account for Mary's baptism at Huntingdon.

It certainly does appear that Cromwell was resident at St. Ives in the years 1633 and 1634, by two entries signed by him in the parish books; also in 1635, by a letter written by him on the 11th January in that year from that place, given by Dr. Harris from the original in the British Museum. His removal from thence to Ely must have been upon the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, in the year 1636. The account of his supposed waste of time, and of his substance at St. Ives, is incredible and ridiculous: Cromwell never thus mixed and confounded his temporal and spiritual duties.

Some of these writers describe Cromwell as having been, whilst in the Isle of Ely, at the highest pitch of enthusiasm; his mind, disengaged from every thing but religious melancholy, heightened by dissatisfaction to both the religious and civil establishments of the kingdom, constantly reflecting upon some disappoinrments in his fortunes, rendered him gloomy in the extreme; the foibles of his youth were swelled by his imagination into the greatest of crimes. All this seems to have originated from the forementioned letter of 13th October, 1639, from Cromwell to his cousin, Mrs. St. John. The passage from thence, before given, brought forward by Dr. Harris to prove Cromwell's early debauched life, has been already considered in that view. It is used to show his enthusiasm and religious melancholy, occasioned by reflection upon his youthful follies, and his disappointments in his fortunes. Supposing him to have been the faulty character described, his penitence was, no doubt, sincere, and did him honour. This letter was a private confidential letter to his relation, Mrs. St. John, who was probably a religious character, and who, he had therefore reason to believe, would be highly gratified to find him also becoming more strictly so, than he might theretofore have been. The remainder of the letter is here given, which, it is not conceived, would, to a religious person, appear either enthusiastic or too serious for the occasion, allowing for the accustomed use in those times of Scripture language upon all occasions, civil as well as religious. This letter is dated Ely, 13th of October, 1638, and is addressed "To my beloved cozen, Mrs. St. Johns, att Sir William Masham his house, called Oates, in Essex, present theise:" — "Deere cozen, I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee upon this opportunitye. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines and my companie! I may be ashamed to owne your expressions, considering how unproffitable I am, and the meane improvement of my tallent. Yett, to honour my God by declaringe what hee hath done for my soule, in this I am confident and I will be soe. Truly then, this I finde, that hee giveth springes in a drye and barren wildernesse, where noe water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifieth blacknesse: yet the Lord forsaketh mee not. Though hee doe prolonge, yett hee will (I trust) bring mee to his tabernacle, to his restinge place. My soule is with the congregation of the first-borne; my body rests in hope; and, if heere I may honour my God, either by doeinge or sufferinge, I shal be most glad. Truely noe poore creture hath more cause to putt forth himself in the cause of his God then I. I have had plentiful wadges beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his Sonn, and give mee to walke in the light, and give us to walke in the light, as hee is in the light: He it is that enlightenenth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say he hydeth his face from mee; hee giveth mee to see light in his light. One beame in a darke place hath exceeding much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shininge upon soe darke a hart as mine." Then follows the passage heretofore given. Then — "This is true, I hated godlinesse, yett God had mercy on mee. O the riches of his mercy! praise him for mee, pray for mee, that hee, whoe hath begunn a good work, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good friends in that family, whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for ther love; I blesse the Lord for them, and that my sonn by there procurement is soe well. Lett him have your prayers, your councile; lett mee have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee; hee is not a man of his word; hee promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, but as yett I receaved noe letters; putt him in minde to doe what with conveniency may be donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord bee with you, soe prayeth,

"Your trulye loving cozen,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

This letter, in the first place, is sufficient proof, if any had been wanting, of the falsehood of Lord Clarendon's assertion of the privacy and obscurity of Cromwell's birth, and of his being without interest, alliance, or friendship. Here he appears to have been upon the most affectionate and intimate terms with his relations, the St. Johns and the Mashams; he expresses himself highly gratified by the pleasure Mrs. St. John had expressed herself to have in his correspondence and his society; he thanks her and the family for the care they were taking of his son; and he appears to be using his interest with Mr. St. John on behalf of their mutual relation in some difficulties. This was two years before the Long Parliament, and before Cromwell had much appeared in public life.

This letter is deemed by the writers that give it highly enthusiastic and extravagant; but it is very certain, that the religious conversation and correspondence of those days were very generally in the same style, however ridiculed after the Restoration, in the licentious reign of King Charles the Second, and indeed by the irreligious of subsequent times, as hypocritical cant. The correspondence of the strictly religious of these days would no doubt be found in much the same language; and, whenever disclosed to public view, is therefore treated by the world in like manner. Nothing can be more easy than to fasten upon any person or profession an opprobrious name, to render them hateful or contemptible; it was the practice of the times, after the Restoration, and is too much in use in the present day. There could be no hypocrisy in this letter, it could answer no purpose with Mrs. St. John and her family; their intimate knowledge of Cromwell, and of his mode of living and conducting himself, would have instantly detected him, and it was not likely to meet the public eye. But Cromwell must be the grand hypocrite of his time, by which all his subsequent conduct was to be explained.

It is conceived that it has not been proved that Cromwell had been irregular in his life up to the time of his quitting Huntingdon for Ely, which must have been, for the reasons before mentioned, in or about the year 1636 or 1637; and that, from what has been brought forward, the contrary appears. He settled at Ely upon his uncle, Sir

Thomas Steward's death, in 1636, with a numerous family, having, the forementioned panegyric says, a most excellent wife, and having lived not only void of all vices, but full of all virtues.

When at Ely, his mind does not appear wholly engrossed by this supposed religious melancholy and dissatisfaction: he is found engaged in the public business of his neighbourhood. In the books of record of a charitable institution in Ely, the members whereof are styled Ely Feoffees, is the following entry, so late as 1641, (whereof the writer has been permitted to take a copy,) he then being an active member of the Long Parliament: — "1641. Gave to divers poor people, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, 16*l.* 14*s.*" This also shows that he had not then ceased to associate with the clergy of the establishment. There is also a petition at Ely, addressed to Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, by the inhabitants of the Isle of Ely, in the reign of King Charles I., stating that Aldreth was a great market for fat cattle, but that it had been discontinued in consequence of the decay of Aldreth-bridge, which should be kept in repair by the Earl of Suffolk as lord of the manor of Haddenham. The object of this petition is to request the bishop to lay their case before the King for redress. This petition is signed by Cromwell and many others. With these records is also a letter of Cromwell's, of which the following is a copy: —

"Mr. Hand;

"I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your monie. I desier you to deliver 40s. of the town monie to this bearer, to pay for the phisicke for Benson's cure. If the gentlemen will not allow it at the tyme of account, keep this noat, and I will pay it out of my own purse. Soe I rest

"Your lovinge friend,

"Sept. 13. 1638. "OLIVER CROMWELL."

It is said by some, that Cromwell's estate was entirely lost or greatly impaired by extravagance: that he retired to St. Ives with a broken fortune, having dissipated the greatest part of his uncle Steward's bequest; and that from his ill success in the farming business he entirely exhausted the small remains of his property. And it is added, that he was insolvent when returned a member of the Long Parliament.

The above letter to Mr. Hand refers to a money transaction, of what nature does not appear. He thereby appears to have been kind and attentive to some poor sick person, and though the sum disbursed was small, his indifference about its repayment shows him not anxious upon the subject of money. Hitherto nothing has been shown in proof of this supposed extravagance and necessity. The contrary is very evident from the following circumstances: — He subscribed five hundred pounds towards reducing Ireland. By the Journals of the House of Commons, he appears to have subscribed, in February, 1641, three hundred pounds as a loan for the service of the commonwealth. 1642, July 15. The House ordered, That Mr. Cromwell having sent down arms for the defence of the county of Cambridge, Sir Dudley North forthwith to pay him one hundred pounds which he had received of the sheriff of the county. It was at the same time ordered, that Mr. Cromwell should move the lord-lieutenant for the same county to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town. Whitelock says, he raised a regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders' sons, and who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. This could not have been done without considerable expense to himself. The above sufficiently prove that he was not in distressed circumstances; also (contrary to Lord Clarendon's assertions) his great influence in his own county and neighbourhood, and which he must have lost by a vicious and dissolute course of life.

He is said to have dissipated his uncle Steward's bequest. If he had no other landed property in the Isle of Ely than what came to him by this bequest, then he had not dissipated or disposed of it. He, indeed, had no time to squander this part of his property whilst at St. Ives, because he must have quitted that place in the year 1637 at the latest, and his uncle's death was not until 1636; and in the settlement upon his son Richard's marriage with the daughter of Mr. Major, dated the 28th April, 1649, he is described as of Ely, and thereby settles a considerable estate (so far as can be judged by the description) in the Isle of Ely; also considerable estates in the counties of Hants, Gloucester, and Monmouth, making some provision for his own wife Elizabeth. And, by another deed of settlement, dated the 3d of August, 1653, whereto Cromwell and his second son Henry are parties also, they settle certain estates in the counties of Leicester and Glamorgan upon themselves successively, subject to a further provision for his (Cromwell's) wife. In the schedule of Richard Cromwell's debts delivered into the Parliament, and to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, also given by Mr. Noble, Cromwell's wife's jointure is stated to be two thousand pounds per annum. Part of this might, and probably did, arise from the grants of Parliament, but not the Ely estate. There can be no doubt that he was a most dutiful and affectionate son of a most affectionate mother. She was interred in great state, in Westminter Abbey. Ludlow says, that she very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid when she heard the noise of a musket, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied unless she might see him once a day at least. Mr. Noble describes her person and dress, as appearing in a portait of her at Hinchinbrooke-house: her dress, he says, is rich, as became her situation in life when drawn, which must have been in her husband's lifetime, as his portrait is there also in the dress of a gentleman of that time, and consequently in Cromwell's minority. Modern copies of these portraits in water-colours are in the possession of one of the Cromwell family.

The Protectress Cromwell does not escape the general abuse of the Cromwell family at the Restoration. She is said, indeed, in one place, to have compensated for the want of personal attraction by the fortune she brought him, and by her virtue and great good sense. She does not appear to have taken any part in public affairs, nevertheless she has been accused of disposing of places in the army during Cromwell's generalship; that she as deeply interested herself in steering the helm as she had done in turning the spit; and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments. She is also accused in some of the loyal ballads, and inflammatory publications of the day, as defective in chastity; also of drinking to excess. Mr. Noble says, the Protectress certainly was not happy in her person, which may be seen by her portrait; which he gives, and says there is reason to suppose one of her eyes to have been defective.

This print is evidently a caricature: a monkey is represented at her ear; and it has been said to have been, in a scurrilous publication, entitled "Joan Cromwell's court and kitchen." But in the Cromwell family is a very good portrait of her, representing a handsome face and person—no defect in her eyes—a dignified manner, and dressed suitable to her then station. Dr. Harris says of her, from Heath's Flagellum, (universally allowed to be a scandalous performance, and not to be relied on,) that she was not wanting in pride, though he allows her to have been a woman of spirit and parts. He (Dr. Harris) says, the Bouchiers were an ancient family, from whence, he says, probably arose this spirit and pride. To show, nevertheless, that she rendered to him (Cromwell) all due submission, he gives the following letter from her to him, from Milton's State Papers, published by Nicholls in the year 1643:

"My dearist, "Desember 27th, 1650.

"I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnir, when I have sent thre for one: I canenot but think they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart, I should ase soune neglect myself ase to the least thought towards you, hoe in douing of it I must doe it to myself; but when I doe writ, my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore anser, which makse me think my writing is slited, as well it mai; but I cannot but thenk your love coverse my weknisis and infirmetis. I should rejoys to hear your desire in seing me, but I desire to submit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, houe hath separated us, and hath oftene brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane to the prase of heis name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseinse, deid not the Lord not make it up in heimself, which I must acknoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would your would thenk to writ sometims to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind: and truly, my deare, if you would thenk of what I put you in mind of sume, it might be to ase much purpos ase others, writting sometims a letter to the Presedent, and sometimes to the Speikers. Indeid, my deare, you cannot thenk the rong you doe yourself in the whant of a letter, though it wer but seldume. I pray thenk of, and soe rest yours,

"In all faithfulnise,
ELIZ. CROMWELL."

This letter is a correct copy from the above publication of Milton's State Papers, excepting a few immaterial errors. It shows much more than mere submission, and that which is much better between man and wife: it proves much good sense and affection on both sides. Cromwell could not have been a morose lordly husband to receive kindly the above advice in his then exalted situation; nor, had he been such, would she have ventured to give it. He appears to have thought well of her understanding and judgment, in consulting her in his family concerns. In a letter to his friend Colonel Richard Norton (given by Dr. Harris), upon the subject of his treaty with Mr. Major, preparatory to his son Richard's marriage with his (Mr.Major's) daughter; after mentioning part of the terms proposed by Mr. Major, he says, "wherein I desired to be advised by my wife." The following letter, without direction, is given by Dr. Harris, from the original in Harl. MSS. It is dated Edinburgh, 3 May, 1651. It must be addressed to the Protectress Cromwell:

"My dearist;

"I could not satisfie myselfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write, yet indeed I love to write to my deere, whoe is very much in my hart. It joys mee to heere thy soule prospereth; the Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is, that the Lord lift upon thee the light of his countenance, which is better then life. The Lord blesse all thy good councell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy sonn and daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the familye. Still pray for thine

"O. CROMWELL."

Had the Protectress Cromwell been the depraved character above represented, Lord Clarendon, and Ludlow, and Sir Philip Warwick, would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them of disclosing it; but His Lordship and Sir Philip are silent upon the subject; and Ludlow, mentioning Cromwell's removal from the Cockpit to Whitehall upon his becoming Protector, only says that his wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur. This is no proof of her pride or love of power; and Cromwell, in the above letter, speaks of her good counsel and example to those about her. And Dr. Harris says, that what confirms him in the opinion of her real good character is, that Dugdale and Bates, who have drawn the most ugly pictures of Cromwell, have left hers untouched; which, he says, he is persuaded they would not have done, could they have found any thing to fasten on; that Bates, being physician to the family, must have had opportunities sufficient for information, and that after the Restoration it was making court to abuse any part of Cromwell's family. This observation refers to a publication by a Dr. George

Bates, in Latin, in 1663, entitled "Elenchi (or Elenchus) Motuum Nuperorum;" afterwards translated into English, and published in 1685, under the English title of "A short Historical Account of the Rise and progress of the late Troubles in England." In these titles he is described as Principal Physician to the Kings Charles the First and Second: his having held the same employ under Cromwell is not noticed; but in the preface to this translation he is so described, and so says the writer, must have, of necessity, been intimately acquainted with many things which were not known to others. He says, that the first part was published in Cromwell's time; and yet that it is written in an air and style which shows the author durst speak truth, when, if discovered, his life would have paid the price of his veracity; that it was first printed about 1651, but anonymous. This account does not accord with the time of the publication of the Latin publication, which is 1663, and is not described to be the second edition.

The writer appears to hold the highest monarchical principles. To prove the great power of the King over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, he says, that mediately or immediately they all hold their estates of the King, owing more to his bounty than to fortune. Under the influence of this principle, and that consequently all resistance must be rebellion, he gives his narrative of the rise and progress of these troubles in the most acrimonious terms, not sparing any one engaged against the King.

Cromwell's parental care of his children, and his affectionate solicitude for their proper settlement and future welfare, appear in various instances:— by the forementioned settlements upon his two sons, Richard and Henry: by the letters that passed upon the marriage-treaty of his son, Richard; some given by Dr. Harris, and others from originals remaining in the Cromwell family. In one of these letters, given by Dr. Harris, as copied from the original, in the possession of a Mr. Symmer, addressed to his noble friend, Colonel Richard Norton, dated 25th February, 1647, Cromwell writes, that "he had sent his son to him, being willing to answer Providence; and although," says he, "I confess I have had an offer of a very great proposition from a father, of his daughter; yet truly, I rather incline to this in my thoughts, because, though the other be very farr greater, yett I see different tyes; and not that assurance of godlynesse, yett indeed fairness. I confess that which is tould mee concerning estate of Mr. M. (Major) is more than I can look for as thinges now stand. If God please to bring itt about, the consideration of pietye in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoeman in that respect, make the businesse to me a great mercy, concerning w^{ch} I desier to waite upon God," The following is also given by Dr. Harris, as copied from another letter in Mr. Symmer's possession: it is addressed to the same Colonel Norton, and dated 28th March, 1648 : —

"Dear Dick ; — It had been a favour indeed to have met you here at Farnham, but I heere you are a man of great businesse, therefore I say noe more ; if itt be a favor to the House of Commons to enjoy you, what is itt to me ? But, in good earnest, when we . . . . you and your brother Russell be a lit . . . . honest and attend your charge, suerly so . . . . [some] expect itt, especially the good fellowes wh . . . . chose you. I have mett wth Mr. Major: wee spent two or 3 howers together last light. I perceave the gentleman is very wise and honest, and indeed much to be vallewed; some thinges of comon fame did a little sticke: I glad . . . heard his doubts, and gave such answare as was next att hand, I believe, to some satisfaction; neverthlesse I exceedingly liked the gentleman's plainnesse, and free dealinge wth mee. I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in his own tyme vindicate me ; I have noe cause to cumplaine. I see nothinge but that this particular business between him and mee may go onn. The Lord's will be donn. For newes out of the north there is little, only the mal partye is prevailinge in the parliament of S. They are earnest for a warr ; the ministers oppose as yett."

The following is an extract from another letter upon the same subject, dated April 3. 1648, in the same Mr. Symmer's possession: —

"Dear Norton; — I could not, in my last, give you a perfect account of what passed between me and Mr. M. (Major), because wee were to have a conclusion of our speech that morninge after I wrote my letter to you, w^{ch} we had; and having had a full interview of one another's mindes, wee parted with this, that both would consider with our relations, and according to satisfactions given there, acquaint each other with our mindes. I cannot tell how better to doe itt, to receive or give satisfaction then by you, whoe, (as I remember,) in your last, sayd, that if thing did stick between us, you would use your endeavor towards a close."

He then mentions the terms insisted on by Mr. Major, and his (Cromwell's) own offer; and as to some parts of the terms, he says, "he had desired to be advised by his wife." Referring to a sum of money he should require of Mr. Major, as part of the terms, he says that he shall need that for his two little wenches, (meaning his daughters,) whereby he shall free his son from being charged with them. He says, "Mr. Major parts with nothing in present, but that monie, saving their board, which I should not be unwilling to give them, to enjoy the comfort of their societye, which its reason he smarts for, if he will robb mee altogether of them.

"I thought fitt to give you this account, desire you to make such use of itt as God shall direct you, and I doubt not but you will doe the part of a friend between two friendes: I account myself one; and I have heard you say, Mr. Major was entirely soe to you. What the good pleasure of God is, I shall write; there, is only rest. I desire you to carrie this business with all privacie; I beseech you to do so, as you love mee. Let me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may know Mr. Major's minde; for I think I may be at leisure for a week to attend this business, to give and take satisfaction, from which, perhaps, I may be shut up afterwards by employment. I know thou art an idle fellow; but, prithee, neglect mee not now: delay may be very inconvenient to mee. I much rely upon you," &c.

Copies only of the two last letters are with the Cromwell family. By a letter dated February 1. in the same year (1648), one of seventeen that Dr. Harris says were transcribed from the originals found at Pusey, in Berkshire, the seat of the Dunches, by the Honourable Horace Walpole; which letter is addressed to Mr. Robinson, preacher at Southampton; it appears that the treaty for the marriage had terminated unsuccessfully. By this letter, Mr. Robinson appears, by the desire of Mr. Major, to propose the renewal of the treaty, to which Cromwell expresses his willingness to accede, upon Mr. Robinson's "testimony of the gentlewoeman's worth, and the common report of the pyetye of the familye." The subsequent letters, until the marriage, are to Mr. Major, upon the same subject.

The marriage was on the 1st May, 1649; and on the 27th July following, Cromwell writing from Newbury to Mr. Major, one of the forementioned letters, says,—"Sir; discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay mee. Let me knowe wherein I may complye with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde mee to you as your own hearte; wishinge your prosperitye and contentment very sincerlye, with the remembrance of my love."

In another of these letters, dated 28th June, 1651, he (Cromwell) says,—"I hear my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt: truly I cannot comend him therein; wisdom requireing his livinge within compasse, and callinge for it at his handes; and in my judgement, the reputation arisinge from thence would have beene more real honour, then what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speake well of him that does ill. I desier to be understood, that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honorable carriage of himselfe in them; nor is any matter of charge likely to fall to my share, or stick with mee. Truly, I can finde in my heart to allow him, not only a sufficiency, but more, for his good; but if pleasure and selfe-sattisfaction bee made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost laid out uppon it, so much tyme spent in itt, as rather answers appetite then the will of God, or is comely before his saints, I scruple to feede this humor; and God forbid that his being my sonn, should bee his allowance to live not pleasinglye to our heavenly Father, who hath raised mee out of the dust to what I am. I desier your faithfullnesse (hee being alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seeke grace from Christ to enable to walke therein. This hath life in itt, and will come to somewhat: what is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures, but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with itt. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you comunicate my minde herein to my sonn, and be his remembrancer in theise thinges. Truly, I love him; he is deere to me, soe is his wife, and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor incoragement from mee, so far as I may afford itt; but indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humour in my sonn; if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life, in a time when some precious saints are bleeding and breathinge out their last for the good and safetye of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David, 2 Chron. xi.

"Sir, I beseech you, believe I heere say not this to save my purse, for I shall willinglye do what is convenient to satisfie his occasions, as I have opportunitye; but as I pray hee may not walke in a course not pleasing to the Lord, soe think itt lyeth upon mee to give him (in love) the best councell I may, and know not how better to conveigh it to him, then by so good a hand as yours.

"Sr, I pray you acquaint him with theise thoughts of mine; and remember my love to my daughter, for whose sake I shall be induced to do any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happie deliverance, frequently and earnistly."

The following is a copy of an original letter, in the British Museum, from Cromwell to his daughter Ireton, given by Dr. Harris: it is dated London, 25th October, 1646, and is addressed to her at Combury, the General's head-quarters: —

"Deere Daughter,

"I write not to thy husband, partly to avoyd trouble; for one line of mine begitts many of his, w^ch^ I doubt makes him sitt up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed att this tyme, havinge some other considerations. Your friends at Ely are well; your sister Clapole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts: she sees her own vanitye and carnal minde, bewailinge itt; she seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that w^ch^

will satisfie; and thus to be a seeker, is to bee of the best sect next a finder; and such a one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee att the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoeever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self-vanitye and badnesse? Who ever tasted that graciousnesse of his and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment. Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge, cool thy affections after Christ. I hope hee will be an occasion to inflame them. That w^{ch} is best worthy of love in thy husband is, that of the image of Christ he beares; look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; doe soe for me. My service and deere affections to the generall and generalesse; I heere she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. My love to all. I am thy deere father,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The following is a copy of an original letter in the possession of the Cromwell family. It is dated 13th Aug. 1649, and is addressed, "For my beloved daughter Dorothye Cromwell (Richard Cromwell's wife) at Hurslye, theise.

"My deere Daughter;

"Your letter was very welcome to mee: I like to see any thinge from your hand, because indeed I stick not to say I doe intirelye love you, and therefore I hope a word of advise will not be unwelcom nor unacceptable to thee; I desire you both to make itt above all thinges your businesse to seeke the Lord, to be frequently calling upon him that Hee would manifest himselfe to you in his Sonn, and bee listninge what returnes Hee makes to you, for Hee will be speakinge in your eare and in your hart, if you attend thereunto, I desire you to provoake your husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this life and outward businesse lett that bee upon the by, bee above all theise thinges by fayth in Christ, and then you shall have the trewe use and comfort of them, and not otherwise. I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way sett, and I desire you may growe in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that I may heere thereof, the Lord is very near w^{ch} wee see by his wonderfull workes, and therefore Hee lookes that wee of this generation draw neere him, this late great mercye of Ireland is a great manifestation thereof. Your husband will acquaint you with itt, wee should bee much stirred up in our spirits to thankfullnesse, wee much need the Spirit of Christ to enable us to prayse God for soe admirable a mercye: the Lord blesse thee, my deere daughter.

"I rest thy loveinge father,

"O. CROMWELL."

"I heere thou didst lately miscarrie; prithee take heede of a coach by all meanes; borrowe thy father's nagg when thou intendest to goe abroad."

The following is also a copy of an original letter in the possession of the Cromwell family. It is dated Carricke, 2d April, 1650; and is addressed "For my beloved sonne Richard Cromwell, Esq., at Hurstly, in Hampshire."

"Dick Cromwell;

"I take your letters kindlye: I like expressions when they come plainlye from the heart, and are not strayned nor affected. I am perswaded its the Lord's mercye to place you where you are; I wish you may owne itt and be thankefull, fulfillinge all relations to the glory of God. Seeke the Lord and his face continually, lett this bee the businesse of your life and strength. And lett all thinges bee subservient and in order to this. You canott finde, nor behold the face of God but in Christ, therefore labor to knowe God in Christ, w^{ch} the Scripture makes to bee the sum of all, even life æternall. Because the true knowledge is not literall or speculative, but inward, transforminge the minde to itt, its unitinge to, and participatinge of the Divine nature. (2 Pet. i. 4.) Its such a knowledge as Paul speakes off. Philip. the 3d. 8, 9, 10. How little of this knowledge of Christ is there amongst us! My weake prayers shal be for you, *take heede of an unactive vaine spirit.* *Recre-*

ate yourself wth S^{r} Walter Raughleye's Historie ; its a bodye of historie, and will add much more to your understandinge then fragments of storie. Intend to understand the estate I have setled: its your concernment to knowe itt all, and how itt stands; I have heeretofore suffered much by too much trustinge others; I know my brother Maior wil be helpfull to you in all this: you will thinke (perhaps) I need not advise you to love your wife. The Lord teach you how to doe itt, or else itt wil be done ilfavouredly. Though marriage bee noe instituted sacrament, yett where the undefiled bed is and love, this union aptly resembles Christ and his church. If you can truely love your wife what doeth Christ beare to his church and every poore soule therein, whoe gave himselfe for itt and to itt. Commend mee to your wife; tell her I entyerly love her, and rejoyce in the goodnesse of the Lord to her. I wish her every way fruitfull. I thanke her for her lovinge letter. I have presented my love to my sister and cozen Ann, etc. in my letter to my brother Maior. I would not have him alter his affaires because of my debt. My purse is as his, my present thoughtes are but to lodge such a sum for my two little gyrles: its in his hand as well as any where. I shall not be wantinge to accomodate him to his minde. I would not have him sollicitious. Dick, the Lord blesse you every way, "I rest,

"Your lovinge Father,

"O. CROMWELL.

The above must, surely, be allowed to prove that which they are brought forward to prove, — Cromwell's parental affection and anxious care for his children's present and future welfare, which he never appears to lose sight of in his most arduous public engagements. They also show a most unusually liberal allowance (for those strict times) for youthful extravagances and weaknesses, accompanied, nevertheless, by the most serious and affectionate exhortations to reform; and a generosity in his pecuniary concerns that is very honourable to him. To his more distant relations he also appears to have been equally kind, although supporting the royal cause. Sir Philip Warwick, indeed, relates of him a circumstance to prove the contrary: he says, "that whilst he (Sir Philip) was about Huntingdon visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he (Sir Oliver) told him this story of his successful nephew and godson; that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had asked him his blessing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence, but that at the same time he not only disarmed, but plundered him: for he took away all his plate." This is an unfair representation. The truth is; — in or about November, 1642, the Earl of Newcastle associated several counties in the northern parts of England for the raising of forces for the King; which determined the Parliament to form the like association for divers other counties, and, amongst others, for Essex and the eastern counties, under the Earl of Manchester. In the preceding month of June the Parliament issued certain propositions and orders to encourage the people to bring in money and plate for the maintenance of horse and horsemen, and for the purchase of arms; also a subsequent order for the staying of all arms and ammunition and horses; also a subsequent order for disarming Popish recusants and other ill-affected persons, and for the taking from them their plate, arms, ammunition, and horses fit for service. Cromwell commanded in these last-mentioned associated counties under the Earl of Manchester, and, in consequence, it became his duty (however painful it must have been) to execute these orders of Parliament upon his uncle Sir Oliver in common with all other the adherents of the royal cause in those counties: he therefore was under the necessity of taking away his plate and arms and horses for the use of the state: but Sir Philip allows (though not meaning to do so) that he performed this distressing duty in the most respectful manner. Sir Philip should in candour have added, that (at the instance of his nephew, Cromwell, there can be no doubt though not so expressed,) it appears in the Journals of the House of Commons, that the sequestration of Sir Oliver's estates both real and personal was discharged and taken off by an order of the House of the 17th April, 1648; Whitelock says, for his kinsman Lieutenant-general

Cromwell's sake. He (Cromwell) also appears to have been equally kind to Henry Cromwell, Sir Oliver's eldest son. He having likewise espoused the royal cause, Cromwell appears in his favour:—by an order of the House of Commons of the 9th July, 1649, upon his, Henry Cromwell's, petition, and at the request of the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland (Cromwell), the fine due and imposed for his delinquency was remitted and discharged. This is the unfair way in which Cromwell's enemies represent all his actions: he is to have no one good quality, nor is to do one good or kind act.

Some of the scurrilous writers of those times go the length of charging Cromwell with illicit amours, and that, as his wife had no small regard for him, she could not, without the greatest uneasiness, see him lavishing his tenderest regards upon others; for it is added by another writer, that Oliver with all his saintship was but a frail vessel. They even hint at her supposed jealousy of Christina Queen of Sweden. This queen and another lady are mentioned as his mistresses, and then a supposed illegitimate child. Could all this be shown to be true, his religious and moral character must be given up; he must then indeed be the hypocrite his enemies describe him. But sufficient proof of the falsehood of this charge, is the silence of the several principal royalist writers. Lord Clarendon speaks of 'his strict and unsociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the Earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he, the Earl of Essex, often made himself ridiculous and contemptible. Sir Philip Warwick says, that he was six weeks a prisoner in his (Cromwell's) sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, where he appeared of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence; and does not even hint at any irregularities in his life. Mrs. Hutchinson appears to have had a great dislike of Cromwell, seemingly owing to some supposed affront of Colonel Hutchinson her husband; and she appears to have been a strictly religious character: but she is quite silent as to these supposed irregularities of Cromwell. She only says of him, (upon his becoming Protector, after censuring him for so doing, and expressing her disapprobation of some parts of his public conduct,) "to speak the truth of him, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped."

Dr. Harris says, his (Cromwell's court) was free from vice. All there, he says, had an air of sobriety and decency; nothing of riot or debauch was seen or heard of; that Cromwell's own manners were grave, and such were the manners of those around him, though seasoned on occasion with pomp, state, and pleasantry. He then gives a passage from the Unparallel'd Monarch. "What palace," says this contemporary writer, "was ever less adulterated than his? Nay, in that very place where pimps and panders were used to traffique and sport in the base revellings of lust, there is now sitting a religious covent of our best and most orthodox divines; and whereas, formerly, it was very difficult to live at court without a prejudice to religion, it is now impossible to be a courtier without it. Whosoever looks now to get preferment at court, religion must be brought with him instead of money for a place. — Here are none of those usual throngs of vicious and debauch swash bucklers; none of those servile and taylshaking spaniels, none of those moehair, linsie-woolsy nits and lice gentlemen; no such changeable camelions." Let us add hereunto, continues Dr. Harris, the testimony of an adversary, meaning the forenamed Dr. Bates, (who, upon the Restoration, forgot all his obligations, and became one of the defamers of his memory:) — "His own court (says this writer) was regulated according to a severe discipline; here no drunkard nor whoremaster, nor any guilty of bribery, was to be found, without severe punishment." The doctor (Bates) introduces the above passage (after commending his attention to the administration of public justice). "Men's manners, also, at least outwardly, seemed to be reformed to the better, whether by really subtracting the fuel of luxury, or through fear of the ancient laws now revived and put in execution. Trade began again to prosper, and, in a word, gentle peace to flourish all over England." These passages must be admitted to be a complete refutation of these charges of Cromwell's supposed irregularities and vicious conduct. To these may be added the two following passages in Whitelock, which Dr. Harris also cites, with some immaterial words in addition, not in Whitelock:—"The Queen of Sweden's intention to come into England was made known to the Protector; but he would not give her any encouragement: he put it all upon the ill example she would give here by her course of life." This does away completely the foolish suggestion of Cromwell's attachment to her, whom he had never seen. The following is the other passage from the same writer (Whitelock): "Graef Hannibal Sisthead, and a lord of Denmark, who had married the King's half-sister there, and been viceroy of Norway, but afterwards grew out of favour of his King, came into England to see the Protector, and made his applications to Whitelock, whom he had been acquainted with in Germany, who brought him to the Protector, and he used him with all courtesie; he dined with him several times, and the Protector was much taken with his company, he being a very ingenious man, spake many languages, and English perfectly well, and had been employed in several great charges and ambassies; but he was a very debauched person; which, when the Protector knew, he would not admit him any more into his conversation; and not long after he departed out of England." Cromwell's daughter Mary (afterwards the Countess Fauconberg), in a letter to her brother, Henry Cromwell, dated 23d June, 1656, to be found in Thurloe's State Papers, also cited by Dr. Harris in further proof of Cromwell's regular conduct, apologises for so long omiting to write to him, but supposes he could not be ignorant of the reason, which was the business of her sister Frances and Mr. Rich. She supposes that he (Henry Cromwell) had heard of the breaking off the business, and proceeds to give an account of the circumstances that led to it. She thinks it was not so much estate, as some private reasons that her father (Cromwell) discovered to none but her sister Frances and his own family; which was a dislike to the young person, which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and such like things; which office, she says, was done by some that had a mind to break off the match. Dr. Harris adds, the reports, on examination, proving false, the marriage took place; observing, that these passages sufficiently evince Cromwell's care to avoid giving any countenance to vice, and also the regularity of manners in those who partook of his favour and encouragement. We may well suppose, says he, the nation must be improved in their morals by such examples.

Dr. Harris says, Cromwell was naturally humane and benevolent, and kind and condescending to his enemies. He then gives several instances:—The act of oblivion, which was passed on the 24th of February, 1651, which, Ludlow says, "the Parliament was prevailed on to pass by the importunities of some of their own members, particularly of Cromwell, that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends for the carrying on his designs, and whereby many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the public no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanours, and the commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money, by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts, owing to such as had served them with diligence and fidelity." In another place, he (Ludlow), referring to Cromwell's supposed visible change of temper and behaviour after the battle of Worcester, says, "He now began to despise divers members of the House, whom he had formerly courted; and grew most familiar with those whom he used to show most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the Parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances, to rescue themselves out of those fears, which many who had acted for the King yet lay under; though, at the same time, he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the Parliament and good people of England had reposed in him. To this end (continues Ludlow), he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that, though some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well in justice to those of that party who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might by that means be supplied with money, which they wanted, and that such who had been plundered by the enemy might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them: yet nothing could prevail upon the General; and so the act passed; the Parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing for which there was the least colour of reason."

It is curious to observe Ludlow's construction of the part he describes Cromwell as taking in the procuring this act of oblivion. It seems to have been so very humane and judicious a measure, that it could not be supposed that the most ingenious and ill-disposed could have discovered in Cromwell any sinister or selfish design in proposing it. Dr. Harris justly observes, that the passing this act of oblivion was right, is manifest from the conduct of all wise princes and states after civil commotions; that it is better on these occasions to incline to mercy than severity: that Cromwell pressed the act is probable; it became him, as a good politician, considered merely as a member of the Parliament; as a man of ambition and great designs, it was wise and well judged, nothing so easily procuring friends as generosity and forgiveness; though, adds he, it is not at all unlikely that natural temper had a good share in all this transaction, for that he was humane and benevolent. He (Dr. Harris) then instances Love's plot, and refers for his authority to Thurloe's State Papers. The passage referred to is in a letter dated 24th March, 1659, from a Mr. John Maidston, in England, (whom Dr. Harris describes as steward of the household to Cromwell, and a member of his Parliament,) to Mr. Winthrop, the governor of the colony of Connecticut, in New England. He says, "Charles's interest" (meaning King Charles the Second, who was then in Scotland,) "likewise wrought here in England, carried on by the Presbyterian party; and in this quarrel honest Mr. Love, who doubtless was a godly man, though indiscreet, lost his head, and many of his brethern were endangered; being detained prisoners, till Cromwell came home (from Scotland) and procured their release." Dr. Harris refers to another instance of his (Cromwell's) humanity and benevolence, — his endeavouring to free the estate of the Countess of Arundel and Surry from sequestration. In a letter from her to Cromwell, to be found in Milton's letters and papers of state addressed to Cromwell, dated 16th September, 1650, she acknowledges her obligation to him for his endeavours to free her estate from sequestration, requesting him to recommend her petition, which had been presented to the House of Commons, to the attention of the House. And, in continuation of his proofs of this disposition to assist even his enemies, says, that this was so well known, that the Marchioness of Ormond is found addressing herself to him for favour, though the Marquis had publically treated his character but scurvily. The following is the letter (in Milton's letters) referred to by Dr. Harris, (though not given by him,) in proof of this fact: — "My Lord; Havinge by a very generall fame reseved ashuranse of Your Lordship's inclinations to make use of your power for the oblidginge of such in generall as stand in niede of protectione and assistanse from it, and havinge heard that some expretions have fallene from you, that maye give mee hope that I, in my perticular, may bee thought by you not uncapabill of being made one of the instansess of that dispositione in you, I have adventured to make this address unto Your Lordship for your favour, and to acquant you with my condistione, and tharupon shall hope for your assistanse, with that clearnes and generositye wherwith I have heard you have oblidgede outhars in a state not unlike that I am in. Your Lordship may please to undarstand that thar desendede to me ane estate of inheritanse in Irland, which, togethar with the rest of my Lord's fortune, is now by warr and pestelanse very much depopulated, and not like to bee, without much troubill, profitabill for a longe time; yet out of this estate it is, that by Your Lordship's permistione and furtharanse, I would propose to raise a subsistanse for myselfe and chilldren, if by Your Lordship I shall be incoridged to endevour it, and derected how most advantagiouslye to apply myselfe to it; being outherwiss as ignorant how to goe about it, as I am unabell to compass it by tedious applications. Soe as from bouth this Your Lordship may gather how great ane obligatione you have in your power to plase upon mee. My desier is to owe my acknowledgements in this perticular unto Your Lordship, and to reseve your pleasure with such passess for myselfe and necesary attendants, as you shall judge fitt, and that with what speide Your Lordship shall think convenient, that accordinglie I may prepare myself with thankfullness to reseve the favour hearin sought from you, by,

"My Lord, Your Lordship's humble servant,

"E. ORMONDE."

"To the Lord General Cromwell."

This request appears to have been complied with. In a note this letter is said to appear, by the indorsement, to have been written in 1652. It is dated Caen, 1st May.

In Mr. Morris's Life of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, is a passage that supplies a further proof of this lenity and mild treatment of Cromwell, of those who were hostile to him: "Soon after Lord Broghill's return from Scotland, Cromwell was informed that the Marquis of Ormonde was in London, of which he told my Lord, saying there is a great friend of yours in town, acquainting him with the time he came to London. My Lord declared he was ignorant of it; and Cromwell bid him send the Lord of Ormonde notice, that he knew he was in town. Upon this my Lord took care to inform the Marquis of what Cromwell had said, which made the Marquis instantly hasten out of England. A little after, somebody had acquainted Cromwell that the Lady Ormonde was practising against his government with her husband; upon which all Lady Ormonde's papers were presently seized, she living at that time in London. This lady had no friend to speak for her but Lord Broghill, and therefore applied herself to him. His Lordship immediately went to Cromwell; but before he could speak to him, Cromwell began with his Lordship, saying in an angry, taunting way, 'You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine person: the Lady Ormonde is conspiring with her husband against me, though by your procurement I have allowed her 2000*l.* *per annum* of her husband's estate, because they are sufferers in Ireland; (this must have been in consequence of her above application;) but I find she is a wicked woman, and she shall not have a farthing of it; and I will have her carted besides.' My Lord seeing Cromwell in this fury, gave a soft answer, and told him he was sorry my Lady Ormonde had given any occasion for such a disturbance: he could not tell what to think of it; but he humbly desired to know what grounds he had for so severe a censure of the lady. Cromwell answered, enough, for he had letters under her hand for it; and then threw him a letter to peruse, which had been found in rifling the cabinet. My Lord perused the letter, and smiled. — Cromwell asked him what he thought of it. His Lordship replied it was a mistake, for that was not Lady Ormonde's hand-writing, but Lady Isabella Thynne's, between whom and the Lord of Ormonde there had been some intrigues. Cromwell immediately asked Lord Broghill how he could prove it? My Lord told him he could easily do that, by showing him some letters of Lady Isabella's; by which he soon convinced Cromwell so fully, that his anger was turned into a merry drollery, and the Lady Ormonde had her estate and liberty continued to her, which kindnes the Marchioness heartily acknowledged." Dr. Harris gives the same passage from other writers.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, says, "He (Cromwell) understood that one Sir Richard Willis was Chancellour Hyde's chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man, in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him. — He said he did not intend to hurt any of the party; his design was rather to save them from ruin: they were apt, after their cups, to run into foolish and ill-concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: he knew they consulted him in every thing; all he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them, that none might ever suffer for them: if he clapt any of them up in prison, it should only be for a little time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 200*l.* a-year. None was trusted with this but his Secretary Thurloe, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence. Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net: he let them dance in it at pleasure; and upon occasions clapt them up for a short while, but nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them." — Dr. Harris gives the same passage, only making the sum to be given to Willis two thousand instead of two hundred pounds a year.

In the battle of Gainsborough, in 1643, Sir Philip Warwick does not actually charge Cromwell with the death of General Cavendish, whom he calls the brave young Cavendish, killed with many others, he says, in cold blood, after quarter given; but he attributes this supposed cruelty to the principles Cromwell's soldiers had imbibed from him, which is not very distant from charging him personally with the act. Now Cromwell's letter, containing the particulars of this action, describes it as very sharply contested. He says General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers, (the Lincolnshire troops,) and routed them, when he, Cromwell, immediately fell on his rear, and forced him down the hill, and drove him and part of his troops into a quagmire, where his captain-lieutenant slew him. This appears to have been done in the heat of action, nor is there a hint of any asking or giving of quarter. The pursuit appears to have been continued and ardent, and, from the description of this part of the action, General Cavendish must have been killed in the very act of resistance: but supposing it otherwise, a General cannot be chargeable with every act of his soldiers in the heat and eagerness of action and pursuit.

Cromwell's lenity and liberality farther appears by the moderate terms of capitulation he granted to the garrisons of different places, besieged by and surrendered to him. To the garrison of Sir Thomas Coggin's house, at Bletchington, he permitted the commission officers of horse, and the governor of the garrison, to march away with their horses, swords, and pistols; the soldiers to leave their arms, colours, and drums; the gentlemen who were visitors to the governor, to be at liberty to march away with their horses, swords, and pistols; the lady of the house and her family to enjoy her goods without plunder. To the garrison of the Devizes, which he took by storm, — the commanders permitted to march to any of the King's garrisons within thirty miles, with their horses and arms; and the soldiers, leaving their arms, to the same garrisons; the gentlemen at liberty to go to their own houses, or beyond the seas. To the garrison of Winchester, also, terms equally favourable and honourable. The severity exercised upon the garrison of Drogheda, upon its being taken by storm, may seem an exception to this alleged lenity of Cromwell; but it was fully justified by the consequences, as appears in the account of that proceeding. Another instance of Cromwell's lenity is his conduct towards the Duke of Gloucester, the King's youngest son. Dr. Bates represents the King's remaining children in England, the Princess Elizabeth, and Henry Duke of Gloucester, as basely used, and that some of the regicides had repeatedly proposed to put them apprentice to trades: that from the gentle tuition of the Earl of Northumberland she (the Princess) is turned over to the severer discipline of another, with orders that, when there should be no occasion for it, she should not be treated as the daughter of a king. He relates that she was afterwards confined to Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, under the custody of one Mildmay, where she died, and that the Duke of Gloucester was sent into banishment, allowing him a small piece of money to carry him over into Flanders. How different is Lord Clarendon's account! He says, that after the Princess Henrietta had been secretly conveyed from Oatlands into France, by the Lady Moreton, her governess, and the Duke of York had made his escape from St. James's, where he and the rest of the royal family that remained in England were under the care and tuition of the Earl of Northumberland, the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government; but that the other two, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, were committed to the care of the Countess of Leicester, to whom such allowance was paid out of the treasury as might well defray their expenses, with that respect that was due to their birth; which, he says, was performed towards them as long their father lived: but that as soon as the King was murdered, the children were removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes and application of people towards them: that the allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table. And that thereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the Earl of Leicester, in Kent, where they lived under the tuition of the same Countess, who observed the order of the Parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them. That there, by an act of Providence, Mr. Lovel, an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house of Leicester, became likewise tutor to the Duke of Gloucester, who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the King his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the King his father had, with much fervour, given him before his death; but that shortly after, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the Countess of Leicester, and sent into the Isle of Wight, to Carisbrooke Castle, where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, that no person should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that they should not be otherwise treated than as the children of a gentleman; which Mildmay observed very exactly: and the Duke of Gloucester was not called by any other style than Mr. Harry. That the tutor was continued and sent thither with him, which pleased him very well; and that here they remained at least two or three years. That the Princess died in this place, and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether, proceeds His Lordship, this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of Gloucester, who was now about twelve years of age, and a Prince of extraordinary hopes, both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might at some time or other be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would show the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, that he was well content that the son of the late King should have liberty to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas, as he should desire; which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination;

and for some time there was no more speech of it. But that notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order and warrant as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the Parliament that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the Duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expenses of the voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the Duke to go on shore in any other part of England. That he came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

It would hardly be credited, did it not come from His Lordship himself, that so unfavourable a construction could possibly have been put upon this very magnanimous act of Cromwell; but this is only another proof of His Lordship's inveteracy towards him;—he will not allow him the merit of a good and disinterested motive in any his best actions. He first takes the chance of the effect that may be produced by the insinuation of Cromwell's procuring the poisoning the Princess Elizabeth; his inward conviction of the falseness of this insinuation obliges him, awkwardly and reluctantly enough, to declare his belief of its being unfounded. But he is determined to make some use of it to destroy the merit of Cromwell's generosity towards the Duke of Gloucester: accordingly he supposes it to be the consequence of Cromwell's feelings of this reproach and suspicion; for which he has just declared his belief of there being no foundation. His Lordship knew Cromwell to be incapable of such an act. In his character of him upon his death, truth compels him to acknowledge that Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method, which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off the heads of all those, and to extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. And that it was confidently reported that in the council of officers, it was more than once pr oposed, that their might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government; but that Cromwell would never consent to it. "It may be," adds His Lordship, in the same ill disposition towards Cromwell, "out of too great a contempt of his enemies;" certainly implying that this contempt only, and not any other higher motive, prevented him from following Machiavel's maxim. It is not however probable, from the characters of the principal officers, that such a proposal was ever made. But it does not appear that the King was equally abhorrent of a work of this nature, if the account given by Mr. Noble from Bishop Hacker's Life of Archbishop Williams be true; who (the Archbishop) recommending to the King to secure Cromwell by some signal favour, or to take him off by violence, the King smiled; yet that afterwards, he was heard to say, "I would that some one would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead:" the bringing him dead must be by assassination. This mode of disposing of his enemies, it is very evident from His Lordship's own account, however disposed to qualify it to Cromwell's prejudice, he (Cromwell) abhorred. The other motives His Lordship assigns for this liberation of the Duke of Gloucester are not only ill-natured but absurd. The extraordinary qualities and rank of the Duke would render him, when at liberty, a most dangerous enemy, instead of an object of contempt; and would, had Cromwell been influenced by political and interested views, have rather determined him to keep him closely restrained in his own power, than to have given him his liberty, and sending him to his family. But the truth must be, that his great mind could not be satisfied in keeping this innocent young prince in a state of lonely confinement; he therefore, unsolicited, proposes his unconditional liberation, and that in the handsomest and most dignified manner, in the persuasion of the Parliament to present him with five hundred pounds to defray his expenses, that he might depart from this country in a manner suited to his rank. All this was Cromwell's uninfluenced act, and incapable of misconstruction. It should not have been forgotten, as it was at the Restoration, in the cruel unmanly treatment of his remains, and in various other instances; Mr. Fox, in his History of James the Second, observing it to be a degrading fact to human nature, that even the sending away of the Duke of Gloucester was an instance of generosity almost unexampled in the history of transactions of this nature.

Mr. Hume, without citing any authority, says, that the Commons intended, "it is said, to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker, and the Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment." But he adds, "the former soon died of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end: the latter was by Cromwell sent beyond sea." And a later writer, also, not citing any authority, says, "To disgrace royalty, the republicans meant to put this princess apprentice to a button-maker, and her brother the Duke of Gloucester to a shoemaker." And that "His Royal Highness, who was arrived at his twelfth year, and was a youth of the best expectations and handsome in his person, becoming an object of jealousy to Cromwell, because it had been recommended by many of monarchical principles near him, to place the Duke upon the throne under particular stipulations; he therefore informed the Queen-mother, as well as the Duke, that he might withdraw to the Continent; and Sir Henry Mildmay (who had the superintendence of the Prince and his sister) was directed to pay his tutor, Mr. Lovel, five hundred pounds for the use of His Royal Highness; but a ship was to be found out of this sum, and it was to sail from the Isle of Wight, without his going on shore in any other part of England."

It is really inexcusable in writers of history thus to misrepresent facts, to serve party purposes, thereby misleading inattentive readers of present and future times. It defeats the use of history, and renders it most mischievous. There can be no pretence for these assertions of the intentions of the Commons thus to dispose of the Prince and Princess. Lord Clarendon does not hint such an idea; on the contrary, he describes them as treated suitably to their rank during the King's life, and afterwards respectfully, as gentlemen's children. His Lordship acknowledges his disbelief of the Princess's death by poison; and Mr. Hume supposes she died of grief for her father's death. He (Mr. Hume) suppresses the particulars related by His Lordship of the liberation of the Prince, for the gratification of making Cromwell appear to have dismissed and sent him off as would be done of the meanest person. It is done for the purpose of lowering Cromwell and increasing the prejudice against him. Other writers appear equally anxious to deprive Cromwell of the merit of this very magnanimous action, by attributing it to little motives of jealousy and apprehension. But it was the act of a great and generous mind, and will stand the test of the nicest and most prejudiced scrutiny; and it would have been no more than fair and candid in his adversaries (amidst all the obloquy with which they have loaded him) to have allowed him the merit of this action.

Whitelock gives another instance of Cromwell's kindness, in directing the lieutenant of the Tower to discharge Mrs. Lucy Barlow from her imprisonment: she had a young son with her, which she publicly declared to be King Charles's son, and that she was his wife: the officers found a grant, when she was apprehended, signed Charles R., by which she had an annuity or yearly pension of 5000 livres granted to her for her life, with an assurance to better the same, when it should please God to restore him to his kingdoms; and it was subscribed by His Majesty's command. Lucy Walter is said to be her real name, though she assumed that of Barlow. The King created this youth Duke of Monmouth.

The following is a copy of an original letter from Cromwell, to his son Henry Cromwell, in the possession of the Cromwell family; to be found also in Thurloe's State Papers, it having been permitted to be transcribed into that collection: it is dated 21st November, 1655.

"Sonne;

"I have seen y^r^ letter writt unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yo^r^self & the publique affaires. I doe beleeve there may be some perticular persons, who are not very well pleased w^th^ the present condition of things, and may be apt to shew their discontents as they have opportunitie; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, & bring them to see that, w^ch^ for the present seemes to be hid from them; espetially if they shall see yo^r^ moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you; which I earnestly desire you to studye & endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you & I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue & event thereof be.

"For what you write of more help, I have longe endeavourd it, & shall not be wanting to send you some further addition to the councell, as soone as men can be found out who are fitt for y^t^ trust. I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person who may command the north of Ireland, w^ch^ I believe stands in great need of one, and am of y^{r} opinion that Trev^{r} and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, & may be made the heads of a new rebellion; and therefore I would have you move the councell, that they be secured in some very safe place, & the further out of their own countryes the better. I commend you to the Lord, and rest, "Your aff^{t} father,

"OLIVER, P."

"For my sonne, Henry Cromwell, at Dublyn, Ireland."

This kindness of temper is further shown in the forementioned letter in Thurloe's State Papers, written by Mr. Maidston to Mr. Winthrop; in which he, (Mr. Maidston,) after relating Cromwell's death, writes thus of him, which, he says, by reason of his nearness to him, he had opportunity well to observe: — "His body was wel compact and strong; his stature under six foote, (I believe about two inches;) his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fyery, as I have known; but the flame of it kept downe, for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distresse, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart, wherein was left little roume for any fear but what was due to himselfe, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tendernesse towards sufferers. A larger soul, I thinke, hath seldome dwelt in a house of clay than his was. I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world wel possest with it, she would add him to her nine worthies, and make up that number a decemviri. He lived and dyed in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons neer him wel observed."

Mr. Maidston, in the rest of this letter, writes freely of Cromwell's public measures.

Whitelock's foregiven account of Cromwell's taking the Great Seal from himself and Sir Thomas Widdrington, for declining to execute the ordinance for regulating the practice of the court of chancery, and soon afterwards appointing them commissioners of the treasury, describes him as "good natured, and sensible of this harsh proceeding, for keeping to that liberty of conscience which himself held to be every one's right, and that none ought to suffer for it; and as then intending to make some recompense to them, by giving them this appointment."

All these instances fully prove the humanity and kindness of Cromwell's disposition.

Cromwell's supposed religious hypocrisy is the grand instrument of attack; it is a favourite weapon in Lord Clarendon's hands; and has been adopted, without examination, by Mr. Hume, and by every subsequent writer to His Lordship to the present day.

It is certainly the readiest and surest mode of destroying character, inasmuch as it is the attribution, without the labour of proof, of ambitious, base, and unworthy motives to the best actions, under a religious mask.

CHAPTER IX.

CROMWELL'S PUBLIC CHARACTER.—REPRESENTS CAMBRIDGE IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 3D APRIL, 1640, AND IN THE SUCCEEDING PARLIAMENT OF 3D NOVEMBER FOLLOWING, BEING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—IS IMMEDIATELY PUT UPON VARIOUS COMMITTEES.—LORD CLARENDON'S OBSERVATIONS UPON HIS SUPPOSED BOISTEROUS MANNERS CONSIDERED.—CONSIDERATIONS OF SOME OF THE CAUSES OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS PARLIAMENT.—THE FIRST OPPOSERS OF THE COURT'S MEASURES. —COMPLAINTS OF GRIEVANCES.—THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILIATION FROM THE WANT OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.—THE EARL OF BRISTOL'S SPEECH, RECOMMENDING ACCOMMODATION.—BILL FOR VESTING THE POWER OF THE MILITIA IN THE PARLIAMENT.—LUDLOW'S OBSERVATIONS UPON THIS MEASURE, AND UPON THE KING'S ATTEMPT TO SEIZE THE FIVE MEMBERS.—UPON HIS WITHDRAWING TO YORK.—UPON HIS ATTEMPT UPON HULL.—UPON THE PARLIAMENT'S PROPOSITIONS SENT TO THE KING, AND HIS REJECTION OF THEM.—AND HIS SETTING UP HIS STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM.

It is unnecessary to say more of Cromwell's private character: even Lord Clarendon does not charge him with any one vicious or immoral act in his private life. And it might have been reasonably hoped and expected, that this irreproachableness of life and manners might have led to a more favourable construction of the views and motives of his public conduct. But herein he meets with no mercy. His public character comes next to be considered.

On the 25th March, 1640, Cromwell was chosen one of the representatives of the town of Cambridge in the short Parliament that commenced the 3d April following.

The following extracts have been most obligingly permitted to be made from the records of the Corporation of Cambridge.

In the Common Day-book of the Corporation of Cambridge are the following entries.

> "Villa Cantabr. dies comm'is lectime sum ibidem tent die Martis septimo die Januarii, anno Regni dni nri Caroli Dei gra. nunc Regis Ang. &c. decimo quinto, 1639.

"Oliverus Cromwell de Huntingdon in com. Hunt. Ar. ad requisitione maioris ville scdm antiquam consuetud ville predte noitut heat libtatem ville predce gratis et solvet pix 1d. pauper et jur. est."

"25 March, 1640, Thomas French, gen Maior.

"This day, the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present in the Guild-Hall, have chosen for burgesses, for the next ensuing Parliament for this town, Thomas Meautys, Esq^{r}. & Oliver Cromwell, Esq^{r}."

In the preceding Parliament of 1628, the above

Mr. Meautys and Mr. Thomas Purchas, alderman, were the members for Cambridge.

The above Parliament of the 3d April having been dissolved, and another called to meet on the 3d November in the same year, being the Long Parliament, the following entry appears: —

" Com^{n} day, 14 Oct^{r}. 16 Charles.

" This day a letter was read, that was sent from the Right Hono^{bl}. John Lord Finch, Lo. Keep. of the Great Seal of England, and High Steward of this town, the tenor whereof is as follows:

" To my verie loveing friends, M^{r}. Maior of Cambr. Alder^{n}, his brethren, and the rest of the Corporation.

" After my verie hartie commendacons unto yo^{u}.

" I must, in the first place, give you manie thanks for that expression of your love and respect unto me, which I found at my being with you. And I shall pray you to rest assured, that nothing in my power shall be wanting, whereby I may give you assurance how ready I shall ever be to requite your love with my indeavours for the good of your corporation upon all occasions. It hath pleased His Majesty to somon a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, the third of November, and I hope it will be a happy one. The last Parliament I recommended unto you my cosen and frind M^r. Thomas Meautys, in whom I always found abilitie and affection to serve you; herein I shall, this time also, desire you (the rather for my sake) to make choice of again for one of the burgesses. If you chuse with him anie stranger, I build so much upon your loves that I shall recommend unto you my brother, Sir Nathaniel Finch, Knight, His Majesty's sergeant-at-law, for whose care of you and affection to do you anie service I will undertake. But my meaning is not that for choice of him you should p'termit my cousin Meautys or any of your corporation, whom you should have a desire to elect; but, only, in case that with my cousin Meautys you join a stranger. And in this, as in all things, I shall sett this limit to my desires and requests unto you, that it be without anie inconvenience to yourselves or your corporation. The bearer hereof brings with him the writ to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire, from whom the warrant is to come both to the University and to you, of which I thought fit to give you timely notice. And so, with the remembrance of my hartie love unto you, I rest your verie loveing & assured friend,

" Yorke, 2°. Octobr. 1640." " Jo. FINCH, S."

" Aldermen present: —

Mr. Foxton,	Mr. Holland,
Mr. Wicksted,	Mr. Tevells,
Mr. Cropley,	Mr. Wrench.

"Dies comunis ltmie sumoint ib'm tent vicessimo septimo die Octobris, anno regni dni nri Caroli Dei gra. nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo sexto, 1640. Magister Robson, Maior."

"This day, the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present in the Hall, have chosen for burgesses of the next ensuing Parliament, for this town, Oliver Cromwell, Esq^{r}. and John Lowrey, of the Common Council or 24."

"Dies, &c. 11. May, 1641. 17 Car.

"This day, a letter sent from the Wo^{ll} Oliver Cromwell, Esq.^{r} and the said M^{r}. John Lowrey concerning a protestation herewith sent, was openly read; and it was agreed that the same should be entered as followeth: —

"To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that body, these:

"Gentlemen;

"We heartily salute you; and herewith (according to the custom of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled) send unto you a protestation by them lately made, the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The preamble herewith printed, doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them in their own persons to begin: we shall only let you know, that with charity and willingness the members of that body entered hereinto; it was in them a right honourable and necessary act, not unworthy your imitation; you shall hereby, as the body representing, avow the practice of the representation; the conformity is in itself praiseworthy, and will be by them approved; the result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole kingdom. Combination carries strength with it: its dreadful to adversaries, especially when its in order to the duty we owe to God, the loyalty we owe to our king and sovereign, and to the affection due to our country and liberties,— the main ends of this protestation now herewith sent you. We say no more, but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you, desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours, which indeed are not ours but the Lord's, whom we desire to serve in integrity. And, bidding you heartily farewell, rest your loving friends to be commanded.

" OLIVER CROMWELL.
" JOHN LOWREY."

" After the reading of which letter, the said protestation was likewise read, and afterwards subscribed by the Mayor, Aldermen, and all others present at the hall at the said Common-day."

" Common-day, 24. August, 1646, 22 Car.

" Memorandum, That whereas the differences between the town and university are referred to Mr. Irmiston and Mr. Bacon on their part, it is agreed that Mr. Oliver Cromwell, and such other one as Mr. Lowrey shall chuse, shall be for the part of the corporation."

It has been said by some writers that he (Cromwell) carried his last election by artifice; and Mr. Noble gives the particulars of this supposed management of his Cambridge friends from the Biographia Britannica, which, he says, is taken from Heath's Flagellum. Mr. Noble supposes this artifice to have been used to introduce him (Cromwell) to the Long Parliament; but it does not so appear in the narrative given by him. The artifice alleged to have been used, is described to be the obtaining Cromwell's freedom of the town of Cambridge, to qualify him for being chosen, by deceiving the mayor into a belief that Cromwell's only view in desiring this freedom was, to live in the town and be of use to it. If the Long Parliament is intended, the story must be false; because the first extract hereinbefore given from the Cambridge records show, that he had obtained, as was necessary, his freedom previously to his election to the Parliament of April, 1640. And, supposing this story should be found to relate to his obtaining such freedom preparatory even to this his first election, it is, as Mr. Noble observes, utterly impossible that Cromwell should be then unknown to the corporation, whose favour he is said to have obtained by his supposed opposition to the drainage of the fens. But it is perfectly ridiculous to conceive that Cromwell should be a stranger in Cambridge; his family residing upon their estates of great extent and value in its vicinity, and Cromwell himself then residing so near as Ely, and having been already in parliament (in 1625 and 1627) for Huntingdon, and publicly known as an active member of those parliaments. The Lord-keeper Finch's above attempt to impose his own two relations upon Cambridge, as their representatives, passes without observation; but, it probably had the effect of not only the rejection of Sir Nathaniel Finch, but also of leaving out Mr. Meautys.

Cromwell is, by many, supposed to owe his introduction to parliament to his opposition to the drainage of the fens in Lincolnshire and other adjoining counties.

Mr. Nalson Cole, register to the corporation of the Bedford Level, gives an account of this drainage of the fens, in his introductory history to his collection of laws forming the constitution of this level, which, he says, he gives from the manuscripts in the Fen-office. He describes this level, or large plain, as consisting of near 400,000 acres, all of which, except some few small hills, were covered with water; that the drainage began to be seriously thought of about 20 Eliz.; that her death put a stop to it, and nothing effectual was done therein during King James's reign; that Francis, Earl of Bedford, who was owner of a large quantity of this level, undertook the work in the 6th year of the King (Charles's) reign, joined by thirteen gentlemen of high rank; that the Earl, and his adventurers, were to have 95,000 acres of the drained lands, in satisfaction of the expense of the undertaking; that the work was instantly begun; and, in the 10th year of the same reign, a charter of incorporation was granted by the King to the Earl and his adventurers, with divers privileges; that the work was finished at a great expense, in the 13th year of the same reign; and was determined, by the commissioners of the sessions of sewers to be well drained, and the 95,000 acres to be set out to the Earl and his adventurers as the agreed recompense; that the King's surveyor assisted in the work, and nothing was left to be done but the putting them into the possession of what they had so dearly earned; that, whether from the King's dislike to the Earl of Bedford, who was an utter enemy to the dangerous politics of those times, and was of great weight with all those who opposed the paces the King was making towards an establishment of absolute government, or owing to the pressing exigences of his private finances, which his unpopular treasurer, the Bishop of London, might think the measure the King took might relieve, — at that distance of time could not be determined, but that certain it was, that very soon afterwards the disposition of the King towards the Earl and his adventurers was entirely changed;

that King, who, by his charter of 13th May, 1635, (the above charter,) expressed his highest approbation of their proceedings, in less than four years, by such means as ill became a King, persecuted those very men to the almost entire ruin of the undertaking, and the destruction of the private fortunes of most of the undertakers; for that a commission of sewers was directed to officers and servants of the crown, and those whom the court had obliged, (who were entirely unacquainted with the business, and as little interested in the event of it as strangers could be,) to examine into the Earl's and his adventurers' proceedings. That these commissioners met at Huntingdon, 12th April, 1639; that, fixed in their judgment before they enquired, but ignorant, they were to determine the work incomplete, and to put the Earl and his adventurers under such difficulties as should make them relinquish the undertaking, and throw the whole advantage resulting from it into the hands of the crown; that the King himself condescended to write to the commissioners immediately after the high-treasurer had written; he knew that to be a fact before examination, which the commissioners were to make a fact after they had examined; he declares himself perfectly satisfied that the Earl had not drained the country, and offers himself to be the undertaker of the work; that the commissioners accordingly began by arraigning the Earl's conduct; they determined the work to be incomplete and defective; they adjudged the Earl and his adventurers not to have performed their contract, and therefore not entitled to their recompense; and, with scandalous adulations, extolling His Majesty's great goodness in offering to undertake the work, they most meanly accepted his proposals, with a free-will offering of 57,000 acres more for his princely care of this distressed country; that the business of this court-commission was transacting at the time when the fire was first lighted up in Scotland, where a rebellion was actually begun, and the country was in arms.

Sir Philip Warwick states the King becoming principal undertaker for this draining; and adds, that by this time the vulgar were grown clamorous against the lords and undertakers who had joined with the King in this second undertaking; though, he adds, they had much better provisions for them than their interest was ever before; and the commissioners must, by multitudes and clamours, be withstood; and that, as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell, in the year 1638, at Huntingdon, appears; which, he says, made his activity so well known to his friend and kinsman Mr. Hambden, that he, in this Parliament, (must mean of 1640,) gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active person, and one that could fit well at the mark; and that thus he is early joined unto the most busy contrivers of the new intended changes.

All the writers of those times, hostile to Cromwell, appear anxious to represent his first appearance in Parliament to have been in that of November 1640, known as the Long Parliament; probably for the purpose of having it believed, (as it has been very generally,) that he owed his introduction to Parliament to the influence of a discontented tumultuous rabble, who disliked the drainage of these fens. It did not suit this object to mention his being in Parliament for Huntingdon, and a conspicuous character in the second and third Parliaments of 1625 and 1627, and again in the Short Parliament, for Cambridge, in April, 1640. He could not owe his introduction to these two first-mentioned Parliaments to his opposition to this drainage; because it appears that nothing had been done in it since King James's reign, till the 6th of King Charles's reign, which was in the year 1631, and Sir Philip Warwick does not place him at the head of the faction till 1638. No opposition is heard of to the Earl of Bedford's undertaking, who appears to have finished it quietly in the 13th year of the same reign, about that year, 1638. These supposed opposers of the drainage must have been strangely inattentive to their interests, to have remained idle spectators of the Earl's proceedings, had they disapproved the drainage itself. The fact appears to be, that the dissatisfaction expressed (whether tumultuously or otherwise) was not of the drainage, which could not but be seen by all, and more especially by so discerning a mind as Cromwell's, residing so near the fens, to be a great national benefit; but it must have been to the injustice of taking it out of the hands of the Earl of Bedford, after the great expense he and his undertakers had incurred in carrying it on to completion; and the point of time (1638 and 1639) fixed on by Sir Philip Warwick as the beginning of the supposed tumultuous proceedings, determines the opposition to have been to these unjust proceedings of the King, and not to the drainage itself. And Cromwell must have strangely altered his mind in seven years, to be found receiving, in 1649, the thankful acknowledgments of the then William Earl of Bedford and his adventurers, through that Earl and the Earl of Arundel, for the part he had taken in forwarding the ordinance which had been passed in that year, for this drainage. But Cromwell must not be permitted to get into Parliament in the regular way: to support the obloquy of his character, even this must be done by lawless and outrageous means. There is, however, no question upon any of his elections, upon the Journals of the House of Commons; and there is no reason to doubt, that his family-connections, and his own great and well-known abilities, and these alone, procured him his seats both for Huntingdon and Cambridge.

The following extracts have been also permitted to be made from the Cambridge corporation records: —

“ Cambridge, M. A common day, lawfully summoned, and holden at the Guildhall of the same town, the 8th day of May, 1652.

“ This day Mr. Mayor propounded the Lord Gen’al Cromwell to be High Steward of this town.

“ Whereupon it was unanimously agreed unto; and a patent of the said office was then and there sealed with the common seal of the said town, granting unto him 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per an. during his natural life. The tenour of which said patent is intered in the register-book.

“ Aldermen present: —

Mr. Spaldyng,
Mr. Trench,
Mr. Robson,
Mr. Tymbs,
Mr. Gifford,
Mr. Bryan.

“ Cambridge, M. The common day lawfully summoned and then holden before the said Mayor and Bailiffes, the 27th day of February, 1653.

“ This day, the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* being for the Lord High Steward’s fee, now Lord Protector, and due at Mich’mas last, was taken out of the chest, and delivered to Mr. Mayor, to be by him paid to the Lord Protector, on his now going to London.

“ A common day, &c. 2d day of March, 1653.

“ Whereas the sum of twenty nobles, due to our Lord High Steward, now Lord Protector, for the year ended at Michs. last past, and it is conceived that a piece of plate will be more acceptable to His Highness, being unwilling to receive the money; it is therefore ordered, that twenty nobles more shall be added to the former, to make it up twenty marks, and that a piece of plate of that value be provided by the Mayor, on his next going to London, and by him presented to His Highness, for and in the name of this corporation: whereupon the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was taken out of the chest and delivered to Mr. Mayor for that purpose."

In further proof of his not being the obscure unknown person in the House of Commons Lord Clarendon describes him, it appears in the forementioned Journals, that he was, on the 9th November, six days only after the commencement of the Long Parliament, appointed one of the committee upon Leighton's and Lilburn's petitions, with Mr. Hampden, Mr. Holles, Lord Digby, Mr. St. John, Mr. Selden, Mr. Grimston, and others. He was of the committee of the 3d December, for taking into consideration the petitions of Mr. Pryn, Mr. Burton, Nath. Wickins, Mr. Pryn's servant, and others, with Mr. Holles, Mr. Cromptroller, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Capell, Lord Digby, Mr. Selden, Mr. Grimston, and many others. This is probably the business upon which Sir Philip Warwick treats so slightingly Cromwell's speaking; but, by the number and respectability of the committee, it appears to have been considered as a matter of very considerable importance; — the committee was to consider of the jurisdiction of the high commission court of Canterbury and York, and of the Star-chamber, and of their several abuses. He was of a committee of the 13th February, upon a bill for the abolishing of superstition and idolatry, and for the better advancing of the true worship and service of God, with Mr. Hampden, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, (afterwards Lord Clarendon,) Mr. Holles, Mr. Selden, and several others; and he was of several other committees of this Parliament. — Mr. Noble says, from the same Journals, that he was in no less than twenty committees between 17th December, 1641, and June 20., in the following year, and several of them of great importance.

In proof of Cromwell's supposed rudeness and boisterous manners, a writer gives a passage from the life of Lord Clarendon: — That Mr. Hyde was often heard to mention one private committee in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an inclosure which had been made of some great wastes belonging to some of the Queen's manors without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands inclosed to the Earl of Manchester, lord privy seal, who, together with his son Mandevile, were now most concerned to maintain the inclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand and supported by power; that the committee sat in the Queen's court, and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the Lord Mandevile being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the committee, sitting covered; that Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said, with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the counsel and witnesses on the other side, with great clamour, when they said any thing that did not please them, so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard; that Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry; that when, upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before, and at the inclosure, the Lord

Mandevile desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it was possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him; which he never forgave, and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death.

It is curious, but disgusting, to observe the avidity with which the different party writers catch at every circumstance unfavourable to Cromwell, without stopping to examine the probability of its truth. His Lordship says, that Cromwell had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons. His forementioned speech in the third parliament, of 1627 and 1628, upon the King's grant of pardons to Dr. Sibthorpe and others, proves this assertion to be untrue. His Lordship's introduction to this passage, in his above Life, upon reference to the Life itself, describes himself as in the chair in many committees upon private complaints. He, according to his usual practice, gives no date to this meeting of the committee. In the Journals of the House of Commons, it appears that the petition of the Lord Mandevile was referred to the committee for the Queen's jointure, of which Cromwell was one; — this committee was not appointed till February, 1641, before which time he had been upon the forementioned several committees; and it is not probable that a person of his arduous mind and great ability should have been silent upon the several important businesses referred to them. His Lordship acknowledges the inclosure complained of to be an act of great oppression, carried by a very high hand, and supported by power. Cromwell appears to have espoused the cause of the oppressed commoners; his warmth is probably overtold and exaggerated, according to His Lordship's usual mode of representing Cromwell's actions. He (Cromwell) charged His Lordship, the chairman, with partiality towards the Lord Mandevile, the representative of the grantees of the crown; which was not very unlikely to be true in a young lawyer, who, according to his Life, had devoted himself wholly to public business, with a view, no doubt, to preferment, and which appears so far to have answered his purpose, as to recommend him early to the King's notice. Cromwell might be too warm and strong in his expressions, in his displeasure at what he conceived to be His Lordship's partiality, which might be heightened by a roughness and overbearing; or sarcastic supercilious manner of treating him; for Bishop Burnet says of him, that he had too much levity in his wit, and that he did not always observe the decorum of his post; and that he was high, and apt to reject those who addressed themselves to him with too much contempt. Cromwell is not here to tell his own story: he might think himself equal to His Lordship in ability, and greatly superior to him in family and connections, and might consider him as deserting the parliament cause. They, probably, before this meeting, disliked each other. His Lordship, says Cromwell, never forgave him, and took all occasions to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge to his death. Unforgiveness of temper was not Cromwell's character. Whitelock, and other writers, acknowledge his warm and sometimes fiery temper, but kept down or soon allayed; and all agree in his forgetfulness of injuries, and in his readiness to make amends to those whom he might have wronged in a moment of displeasure. It is not remembered that any instance is recorded of Cromwell's malice or revenge towards His Lordship; but every page of His Lordship's history, in which Cromwell's name is mentioned, abounds with the most rancorous expressions of him, with which he certainly pursues him, not only to his death, but beyond it, when he consigns him to damnation and hell fire.

The determination of the side on which actual hostilities between the King and the Parliament began, whether on the part of the King or of the Parliament, and the ascertainment of the precise day of their commencement, must be perfectly immaterial to the history of these troubles. The origin of this unhappy contest must be sought for and will be be found in the arbitrary principles of government imbibed by the King from his father. It is not surprising that he should ascend the throne with the late King's prejudices in favour of absolute and irresistible power; and it is perfectly certain that those were his principles, if there were no other evidence than his encouragement and promotion of Dr. Sibthorpe, Dr. Mainwaring, and Dr. Montague, for their sermons in support of the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; some, if not all of those sermons, preached in his presence, and in which those doctrines were carried to their greatest height. Unfortunately for the King, these arbitrary principles had been stretched as far as they would go, in the preceding reigns of King James and of his predecessors: and the nation becoming more enlightened upon these subjects, the parliaments were gradually preparing for resistance to those arbitrary measures which grew out of those principles.

The King, who was only about twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne, had been taught to think little or nothing of the privileges of Parliament, which both he and his father appear to have considered as usurpations, or indulgences from the crown, and resumable at its pleasure when found inconvenient.

The speeches of those who first stood most prominently forward in their opposition to the court, show that the opposers of the King's measures were not those only that continued in opposition to the last; but also many, who afterwards, from various causes, went over to the King, and some of whom fought in his service: such as, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford; Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor-general of the Court of Wards, who was sentenced to suffer death for his subsequent adherence to the King; Mr. Bagshaw, who was slain at Newbury fight; Sir John Culpeper, who went to the King at Oxford; Mr., afterwards Sir Harbottle Grimston, who was made Speaker of the House of Commons at the Restoration, and subsequently Master of the Rolls; Lord Falkland, who lost his life in the King's service; Lord Digby, who was, soon after the passing the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford, in arms for the King; Lord Capel, who suffered death for his adherence to the King; and Mr. Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), who quitted the Parliament, and went to the King at Oxford.

No one, surely, who reads their speeches, and attends to the names and characters of the speakers, can continue to charge those opprobriously called puritans, sectaries, and fanatics, with being the beginners of hostilities against either the church or the state. None of these speakers, it is conceived, were puritans or sectaries. They, nevertheless, all agreed in the existence of those abuses that had made their way into the government of the church, and as tending very evidently to the introduction of Popery; and they did not scruple to charge the Archbishop (Laud) and the bishops under his influence, with being the causers and promoters of these innovations. And, in like manner, they charged the Archbishop and Lord Strafford with all the abuses and grievances complained of in the state, and described them as proper objects of severe and exemplary punishment. And Rushworth, referring to the several speeches concerning grievances, and the debates and discourses of other members, says, that they did so convince the rest of the House, as, when any question was put, concerning any considerable grievance, not one member of the House gave a No thereunto. He instances a few; such as ship-money; extrajudicial opinions of the Judges in the Star-chamber; ship-writs; the clergy in convocation making canons without consent of Parliament, and others. No doubt can then remain of the existence of great and numerous grievances, both civil and religious. Both King James and King Charles acknowledged it, and promised their redress.

But holding, as the King did, these arbitrary doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, he must have considered, and certainly did, to the last, consider all these complaints of grievances, and acts of opposition of his parliament to his will, nothing short of rebellion, and their supporters rebels, with whom no faith was to be kept. And no doubt, therefore, can be entertained that he considered the Petition of Right, to which he consented with peculiar reluctance, and all those other acts of Parliament, to which he had given his assent (and which Lord Clarendon so pompously enumerates and dwells upon with such complacency), as forced from him, and consequently to be avoided and recalled, so soon as a favourable opportunity should offer.

The Parliament, well aware of these pervading principles of the King, and their necessary consequences in his dealings with them, despaired of finding security sufficiently strong to bind him to the performance of any engagements he might make with them, under the influence of those principles. In these sentiments they were afterwards confirmed by various circumstances in the King's conduct towards them; particularly by their possession of the King's letters to the Queen, taken in his cabinet at Naseby: They would not, therefore, rely upon his promises of redress of grievances; but suspended the supplies upon his performance of them. Hence the first misunderstandings between the King and his Parliament; they were the beginnings of the strife, the letting out of the water; the breach widened every hour, and the King and his Parliament soon became irreconcileable. From these letters it appeared that the King meant, upon his again getting into power, to deny the legal existence of the Parliament, and thereby to have avoided his agreements with them under that name; and also to have rid himself of the Parliament itself, at his own convenience, notwithstanding the act he had passed in the beginning of the Long Parliament, forbidding its dissolution, unless by act of Parliament; thereby, doubtless, intending to get into his power its obnoxious individual members, whom, in the above letters, he invariably calls rebels, and whom he would certainly have considered and treated as such.

However glossed over by Lord Clarendon, it must surely appear to the most cursory reader of the preceding extracts, not only from Rushworth, but from Lord Clarendon himself, that the grievances so severely felt and complained of by the people were not only real, but originated with the King and his ministers. That they, instead of advising and promoting conciliatory measures between him and his people, inflamed his mind by their ill-advised counsels, to the most violent acts, which His Lordship, nevertheless, observes, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, of no prejudice to the crown. From these violences on the part of the King, naturally arose strong resistance on the part of the people; necessarily productive of high expressions of displeasure and resentment on both sides, and which neither of them were likely to forgive or to forget.

The following speech of the Earl of Bristol, a very able man, and a friend to the King, delivered in the House of Peers so early as the 20th day of May (1642) preceding the King's setting up his standard, recommending accommodation between him and his Parliament, shows that the Earl felt the difficulty of finding security, where all confidence was lost; unable himself, probably, to point out such security, he proposes nothing specific, but advises a committee of both Houses to whom the subjects of his speech should be referred. His Lordship introduces his speech by observing; that he had spoken so often upon the subject of accommodation, with so little acceptance and so ill success, that it was his intention not to have made any further essay in that kind; but that his zeal for the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and his apprehension of the near approach of its unspeakable miseries and calamities, suffered him not to be master of his own resolutions.

Speaking of the prosperous state of the kingdom in former times, and their present internal distracted state, he conceived it to be high time to consider by what means it had been brought into that state, and how it might be rescued therefrom. That its enemies were those of its own house, such as their own dissentions, jealousies, and distractions had raised up; and that no other cause of the unhappiness and misery of a state need be sought for. The Scripture telleth us of the strength of a little city united, and of the instability of a kingdom divided within itself; so that, upon a prudent enquiry, we may assign our own jealousies and discords as the chief cause of our past and present troubles, and of our future fears. It must be confessed, says he, that by the conduct and counsel of evil ministers, the subjects had cause to think their just liberties invaded; and from thence had their former distempers grown: — for that it was in the body-politic of a monarchy, as in the natural body, the health whereof is defined to be, *partium corporis, æqua temperies,* an equal temper of the parts, so likewise a state is well in health and well disposed, when sovereign power and common right are equally balanced and kept in an even temper, by just and equitable rules. And, truly, my Lords, by the goodness of His Majesty, and by the prudent endeavour of the Parliament, this state is almost reduced to that equal and even temper; and our sickness is rather continued out of fancy and conceit, — I mean fears and jealousies, — than out of any real distemper or defect. I well remember, that before the beginning of this present Parliament, some noble lords presented a petition to the King, and therein did set down all, or most of the grievances and distempers of the kingdom which then occurred to them. To these, as I conceive, the Parliament have procured from His Majesty such redresses as are to their good satisfaction. Many other things, for the ease, security, and benefit of the subject, have been, by their great industry, found and propounded, and by His Majesty's goodness condescended unto; and now we are come so near the happiness of being the most free and settled nation in the Christian world, our dangers and miseries will grow greater, and nearer unto us every day than other, if they be not prevented. The King is willing to hearken to all our just and reasonable propositions for the good and comfort of his subjects. The rule of his government he professeth shall be, the laws of the kingdom; and for the comforting and securing us, he offereth a more large and more general pardon than hath been granted by any of his predecessors. We, on the other side, make profession, that we intend to make His Majesty a glorious king; to endeavour to support his dignity, and to pay unto him that duty and obedience which by our allegiance, several oaths, and late protestation, we owe unto him; and to maintain all his just regalities and prerogatives, which I conceive to be as much as His Majesty will expect from us. So that, my Lords, we being thus agreed, we should be most unfortunate if we should not bring forth inclinations and endeavours, so to propound and settle differences, as both King and people may know what will give them mutual satisfaction; which, certainly, must be the first step to the settling a right understanding betwixt them. And in this I should not conceive any great difficulty, if it were once put in a way of preparation. But, the greatest difficulty may seem to be, how that which may be settled and agreed upon may be secured. This is commonly the last point in treaties betwixt princes, and of the greatest niceness; but much more between a king and his subjects, where that confidence and belief which should be betwixt them is once lost: and, to speak clearly, I fear, that this may be our case: and herein may consist the chiefest difficulty of accommodation; for it is much easier to compose differences arising from reason, yea, even from wrongs, than it is to satisfy jealousies, which, arising out of diffidence and distrust, grow and are varied upon every occasion. But, my Lords, if there be no endeavours to allay and remove them, they will every day increase and gather strength; nay, they are already grown to that height, and the mutual replies, to those direct terms of opposition, that if we make not a present stop, it is to be feared it will speedily pass further than verbal contestations. I observe, in some of His Majesty's answers, a civil war spoken of. I confess it is a word of horror to me, who have been an eye-wittness of those unexpressible calamities, that, in a short time, the most plentiful and flourishing countries of Europe have been brought unto, by an intestine war.

I further observe that His Majesty protesteth against the miseries that may ensue by a war, and that he is clear of them. It is true that a protestation of that kind is no actual denouncing of war, but it is the very next degree to it, —*ultima admonitio*, as the civilians term it, the last admonition. So that we are upon the very brink of our miseries: it is better keeping out of them, than getting out of them. We must not then still dwell upon generals, for generals produce nothing; but we must put this business into a certain way, whereby particulars may be descended unto. And the way I shall offer, with all humility, is, that there may be a select committee of choice persons of both Houses, who may, in the first place, truly state and set down all things in difference between the King and the subject, with the most probable ways of reconciling them. Secondly, to descend into particulars, which may be expected by each from the other, either in point of our supporting of him, or his relieving of us. And, lastly, how all these conditions, being agreed upon, may be so secured as may stand with the honour of His Majesty, and the satisfaction of the subject. When such a committee shall have drawn up the heads of the propositions, and the way of securing them, they may be presented unto the Houses, and so offered unto His Majesty by such a way as the Parliament shall

shall judge most probable to produce an accommodation.

His Lordship then refers to the distractions, — he might almost call them confusions, — in point of religion, which, of all other distempers, are most dangerous and destructive to the peace of a state.

He then points out the difficulties attending himself and the other individuals of the country, in acting under the differing and clashing authorities of the King and the Parliament; for that, in contrary commands, a conformity of obedience to both was hardly to be lighted on.

I have said, says he, thus much, to give occasion to others to offer likewise their opinions; for if we should sit still, and nothing tending to the stay of the unhappy misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people be propounded, it is to be feared that our miseries will hasten so fast upon us, that the season and opportunity of applying remedies may be past.

His Lordship sees the difficulty of a secured and permanent reconciliation, but suggests no remedy.

Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, says, that the Parliament having omitted the proper season of accommodation, after the Duke of Buckingham's death, and running all things to extremity, necessitated the King to have recourse to such ways of raising supplies, as upon great exigencies were formerly precedented by his predecessors, though long disused; and to revive old and obsolete laws, that so he might get that as a right and duty which he could not obtain from a free will and by a bounty; and to consider how to maintain his just and legal principles.

This is the way in which Sir Philip Warwick thinks proper to account for all the King's despotic proceedings between 1628 and 1638, for the purpose of raising money without the assistance of Parliament; in which he much outruns Lord Clarendon, who, with all his disposition to extenuate these proceedings, is obliged to join in the condemnation of many of them.

The King, thus deeming all his concessions to the Parliament forced from him in the moment of his necessities, and therefore to be avoided by him when opportunity should offer, and the Parliament being aware thereof, and fully sensible of the danger of the King getting the better of and avenging himself upon them, for all their, as he considered it, rebellious opposition to his will, deemed it necessary to endeavour to obtain the power of the army and navy; which brought forward the bill for settling the militia of the kingdom, and putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons into the hands of persons in whom they could confide.

Ludlow in his memoirs, referring to the King's return to London from Scotland, and to the city's favourable reception of him, says, he became elevated to that degree, that in his first speech to the

Commons after his return, he sharply reproved them; for that, instead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their demands and dissatisfactions. Whereupon, adds he, the Parliament were confirmed in their suspicions that he designed to break what he had already granted, so soon as he had opportunity and power in his hands to plead that he was under a force, as some of his predecessors had done; and so reverse what had been enacted for the good of the people, and to revenge himself on those who had been instruments in compelling him thereto, and to fortify himself against the like for the future: that these apprehensions made them earnestly insist upon settling the militia (the army and navy) of the nation in such hands as both Houses of Parliament should recommend: that the Parliament particularly representing to him, the King, the great dissatisfaction of the city of London, Sir William Balfour, for refusing to permit the Earl of Strafford to escape, was dismissed from his charge of Lieutenant of the Tower, and its government put into the hands of one Lunsford, a soldier of fortune, of a profligate conversation, and fit for any wicked design: that with much difficulty this Lunsford was removed and Sir John Conyers put into his place; but the Parliament and city not being satisfied with this choice, and having discovered that Sir John Suckling, under pretence of raising a regiment for Portugal, was bringing together a number of men to seize the Tower for the King, it was at last entrusted to the Lord Mayor of London. He, Ludlow, referring to the Irish rebellion, says, that the rebels pretended a commission from the King, which so alarmed the people of England, that the King thought himself necessitated to do something therein; and, therefore, to carry on his design against the Parliament, he acquainted them that when an army was raised, he would go in person to reduce them; but they, apprehending this pretended resolution to be, only in order to put himself at the head of an army, that he might reduce the Parliament to his will, refused to consent, and procured the act for leaving of that war to the management of the two Houses.

He, Ludlow, then referring to the King's attempt to seize the five members, says, — that, during the King's subsequent absence at Hampton-court, many papers passed between him and the Parliament; that the chief aim of the letters of the Parliament was, to persuade the King to return to London, and to settle the militia in such hands as the Parliament should advise, that so all jealousies might be removed: that to these the King answered that he could not part from the militia, esteeming it the best jewel of his crown, nor return to London with safety to his person: that the declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the King's designs, both at home and abroad, being grown ripe, he expressed his dissatisfaction more openly, and withdrew to York, where several Lords, and others affected to his interest, resorted to him with plate, money, men, horses, and arms; amongst whom were many Papists. He then describes the King's attempt upon Hull. He adds, that the Parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to persuade the King to return to them, sent down the nineteen propositions, (which are given at large in Rushworth,) which Ludlow also here gives, because much, he says, of the intentions of the Parliament appear in these propositions, and for that they were in effect the principal foundation of the war. — The following is the substance of the propositions sent to the King, with the humble petition and advice on the 2d of June, 1642. The removal of such of the lords of the privy council and officers and ministers of state as not approved by the Parliament, and their places supplied by those to be approved: regulations of the mode of transacting the great affairs of the kingdom, in which Parliament was to have a great share: the Lord High Steward and other great officers of state to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament: the persons to whom should be committed the government and education of the King's children to be subject to the like approbation: also the marriage of the King's children: the laws against popish recusants to be executed: the votes of popish lords to be taken away, and their children educated by Protestants in the protestant religion:

reformation of church-government and the liturgy as Parliament should advise: ordering the militia: restoration of members of either House of Parliament that had been put out of any place or office, or satisfaction made to them: oath to be taken by privy counsellors and judges for maintaining the Petition of Right, &c.: judges and officers placed by the approbation of Parliament, to hold their places *quamdiu bene se gesserint*: the justice of Parliament to pass upon all delinquents, &c.: the general pardon offered by His Majesty to be granted, with such exceptions as Parliament should think proper: the forts and castles to be placed under the command of such persons as the King should appoint, with the approbation of Parliament, &c.: the extraordinary guards and military forces attending the King to be discharged, &c.: a strict alliance with Holland and other neighbouring protestant states: the King to clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the House of Commons, so that future Parliaments might be secured from the consequence of that evil precedent: the King to pass a bill for restraining Peers, that should be made thereafter, from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

And then follows:—That those their humble desires being granted, they, the Parliament, would forthwith apply themselves to regulate His Majesty's revenue for his best advantage, and settle such an ordinary and constant increase of it as should be sufficient to support his royal dignity in honour and plenty, beyond the proportion of any former grants to his predecessors: also would put the town of Hull into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of Parliament, &c. He (Ludlow) adds, that these propositions were rejected by the King, he being resolved to steer another course, presuming he might obtain as good terms as those, if reduced to the last extremity; and that, if his arms succeeded according to his hopes, his will might pass for a law, pursuant to the opinions of those who thought no way so likely to render his authority absolute as the making war upon his people. And now, says he (Ludlow), the fire began to break out in the west, Sir John Stawell and others drawing a party together in Somersetshire for the King, where a skirmish took place at Elm on Poldenhill, wherein some of those who had declared for the Parliament were killed; whereupon the Paliament ordered some horse to be raised under the command of the Earl of Bedford to protect their friends in those parts, when Sherborn was taken by the Parliament forces, and Portsmouth secured to the Parliament: which brings him (Ludlow) to the time of the King setting up his standard at Nottingham, when the Parliament, he says, thought themselves obliged to make some preparations to defend themselves, having discovered that the King had sent abroad to procure assistance, particularly of the King of Denmark.

Sir Philip Warwick, giving this part of the history, and referring to the nineteen propositions, which, he says, were then published by the Parliament and must be maintained, forced the King to set up his standard.

The absence of all confidence between the King and the Parliament left no alternative but the sword for the settlement of their differences. The nineteen propositions certainly contain very high terms, and such as the King could not be expected to submit to, but in the last extremity; nevertheless, it is not surprising that the Parliament, perfectly aware as they were, of the King's secret reserves in his proceedings with them, should propose these terms, for the purpose of bringing the King so far under their power as to place him almost beyond the ability of breaking through his engagements with them; and against which they could find no other security. Unfortunately, none to be relied on was to be found against the King's probable breach of his engagements under his known high opinion of his own rights, and of his forced concessions, as he considered them, to the Parliament. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, referring to the King's concessions to the Parliament, says, " That the King did not come into them seasonably, nor with a good grace; all appeared to be extorted from him. — That there were also grounds, whether true or plausible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them from him, contrary to his own inclinations." A war was become inevitable, — a sad necessity! The contest could be for nothing short of decided victory of the one side over the other; when the terms must be absolute submission on the part of the subdued to the dictation of the victor. All the treaties and negociations, therefore, between the King and the Parliament, must and did come to nothing. The parties themselves could not expect from them any successful result; and they were probably proposed with no other hope or view than to create a favourable impression on the minds of the nation, of their respective dispositions to peace.

The truth is, says Mr. Hume, that after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties, especially for that of the Parliament. Amidst such violent animosities, power alone could secure safety; and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other. Few or no instances, adds he, occur in history of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation that has been concluded between two factions, which had been inflamed into civil war.

The same writer (Mr. Hume) says of this Parliament, that if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable Parliament during the first period of its operations, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which he calls a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweighed their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty. Not only, says he, were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed; great provision for the future was made by law against the return of like complaints. And, adds he, if the means by which they obtained such advantages savoured often of artifice, sometimes of violence, it was to be considered that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning; and that, factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitances.

Mr. May, observing upon the act for continuing this Parliament, says, that it was not only afterwards, by the King himself, much upbraided to them, but by many gentlemen, who were not well affected to the Parliament; and by all the faction of prelatical clergy in their ordinary discourse, was censured as a greater grace than it was fit for the King to grant. To which the Parliament, when the great distraction happened, and the war was breaking out, in many of their declarations, answered,—That though there were in it some seeming restraint of the regal power in dissolving Parliaments, yet that, really, it was no taking that power from the crown, but suspending the execution of it for this time and occasion only; which was so necessary for the public peace, that, without it, they could not have undertaken any of those great charges, but must have left both the armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole kingdom to blood and ruin: for that, to pay the armies and defray other necessary charges, money was to be borrowed upon the public faith, which had been nothing worth, if that Parliament could have been dissolved at the King's pleasure: and that where it was objected, that no King ever granted the like before, they answered, that it was evident that no King ever before made so great a necessity for a Parliament to require it: also that in the constitution of England's government, it was never the meaning of the lawgivers that the King should dissolve any Parliament, whilst the great affairs of the kingdom were depending; and that though the King had used to do so, it was nevertheless unlawful: that the Scots, in their remonstrance (1640), told the King, that he had broken their laws in dissolving the Parliament there, against the consent of their House; and that it was well understood by those that were skilful in the laws of both nations, that English Parliaments had originally the same freedom: that it was nevertheless then probably thought by all, that the King would not have assented to that act, if at that time the freshness of those forementioned grievances in the people's hearts, and the present discovery of that odious treason, of bringing an army against the Parliament, had not made it unsafe for him to deny it.

The same writer (Mr. May) observes, that the Parliament, though at a great charge in supporting the Scots army, not being well assured of the King after the discovery of the forementioned conspiracies, nor fully trusting the English army, were content that the Scots army should not be disbanded until the disbanding of the English army; being also doubtful of the Irish army, which the King had told the Parliament he could not disband, for some reasons best known to himself.

After mentioning the Irish rebellion and massacre during the King's absence in Scotland, and his return from thence, and the passing and presenting the remonstrance, he (Mr. May) observes, that the fears and jealousies that now reigned were of a sadder nature than the fears of any former times had been: that two years before, the people feared that whilst the King lived, they should never see a Parliament; but now they began to fear that no Parliament could do them good: that at this time began that fatal breach between the King and the Parliament to appear visibly, and was daily wider, never to be closed, until the whole kingdom was, by sad degrees, brought into a ruinous war: that from thenceforth no true confidence between him and that high court; every day, almost, contributed somewhat to the division, and declarations upon several occasions were published to the world, of which, though the language, for the most part, were fairly couched, and sweetened with frequent intermixtures of gracious expressions from the King, and affectionate professions from the Parliament, yet the substance was matter of expostulation; and many intervening actions did so far heighten them, and sharpen by degrees the style, till those paper contestations became a fatal prologue to that bloody and unnatural war which afterwards ensued. Mr. May then mentions the King's setting up his standard at Nottingham, to which he says very few people resorted. Nor had, says he, the King, at this time, a sufficient strength to guard his person, had any attempt been made to have taken him.

The same writer (Mr. May), referring to the trial, attainder, and execution of Lord Strafford, observes, that of so great moment and consequence was the result, that it could hardly be called the trial of the Earl of Strafford only; the King's affections towards his people and Parliament, the future success of this Parliament, and the hopes of three kingdoms depending on it, were all tried when Lord Strafford was arraigned.

After relating shortly the circumstances of the trial and attainder, and of his execution, the same writer observes, that of him it might be truly said, that as his life and counsels had been of great moment and concernment in the state before, so did his trial and death, by unhappy accidents, prove to be, that the divisions and disturbances which his life could make were not greater than those that his death occasioned. How far, adds Mr. May, the Earl did, in his lifetime, divide the King's affections from his people and Parliament (which was part of the charge against him) I cannot surely tell; but certain it is, that his trial and death did make such a division in that kind, as being unhappily nourished, by degrees, afterwards, had almost ruined the three kingdoms; that the manner of his condemnation divided the Parliament in itself, and the eager pressing of his death did discover or cause a sad division of the King from his Parliament. He (Mr. May) considers the making public the names of the fifty-nine members who voted against the bill of attainder as betrayers of their country, the cause of many of the members forsaking the Parliament; and the public burning of Lord Digby's speech, which he had printed, to be the cause of his deserting the Parliament, and proving so great an actor against it. And the worse consequence of all to be, the alienation of the King's heart from the Parliament: which he instances in the conspiracy against the Parliament to save Lord Strafford's life, by contriving his escape from the Tower, and to curb the power of the Parliament, by bringing up the English army, which was in the north, as yet undisbanded, and by bringing a French and Irish army into England; to all which the King was privy. All which, upon the discovery of these designs, he says, determined the Parliament to apply to the King for, and which they obtained, the bill to prevent the dissolution of this present Parliament without the consent of both Houses.

Up to the time of Lord Strafford's attainder, Cromwell acted with the Parliament, against the measures of the King and his ministers. The grievances of the country were undenied; Lord Clarendon acknowledges the motion for his, Lord Strafford's, impeachment to have been no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House.

Whether Cromwell was or was not in the majority that voted for the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford does not appear; his name is not mentioned in any part of the prosecution. The number that voted for and against the bill was 263, of which 59 were against the measure; and if the House had its original number of 497, it would appear that 224 did not vote either way. Whether he, Cromwell, was in that number, or in the majority, is immaterial; there can be no doubt that the members on both sides acted according to the best of their judgments.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, referring to the different effect of the King's death from what he supposes to have been Ireton's expectation, instances, in the Earl of Strafford's death, that it made all his former errors to be forgot: that it raised his character, and cast a lasting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he would have sunk in his credit by any censure lower than death, and have been little pitied, if not thought justly punished: that the like effect followed upon Archbishop Laud's death; that he was a learned, a sincere, and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscreet man, eagerly pursuing some matters that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous; such as setting the communion-table by the east walls of the churches, bowing to it, and calling it the altar; the suppressing the Walloon privileges; the breaking of lectures; the encouragement of sports on the Lord's day, with some other things that were of no value: and that yet all the zeal and heat of that time were laid out on these: that his severity in the Star-chamber, and in the High-commission Court; but above all, his violent, and, indeed, inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop Williams, were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised his character; which indeed it did, to a degree of setting him up as a pattern, and the establishing all his notions as standards by which judgments were to be made of men, whether they were true to the church or not: that his diary, though it were a base thing to publish it, represented him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a superstitious regarder of dreams; that his defence of himself, writ with so much care when he was in the Tower, was a very mean performance; that he intended in that to make an appeal to the world; that in most particulars he excused himself by this, — that he was but one of many, who either in council, Star-chamber, or High-commission voted illegal things. Now, says the Bishop, though this were true, yet that a chief minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. That he (the Archbishop) says, the charges were proved but by one witness. Now, continues the Bishop, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for that if a thing be true, it is no matter how full, or how defective the proof: that the thing that gave him (the Bishop) the strongest prejudice against him, in that book, was, that after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed in the hurry of passion, in the exaltation of his prosperity he did not, in any one part of that great work, acknowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wise or pious reflections on the ill usage he had met with, or the unhappy steps he had made; so that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman persecutions, his friends, Heylin and Wharton, had as much lessened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publishing his vindication of himself.

The first personal accusation of Cromwell is conceived to be, his supposed introduction and prosecution of the Self-denying Ordinance. Lord Clarendon takes upon himself to determine the motives of those who brought about that ordinance, the origin of which he attributes to the violent party, as he calls them, who had cozened the rest into a war, and had afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, and who now found that the tools wherewith they had thitherto wrought could do no more for them, and that the unfinished work must be done by other workmen. That they were dissatisfied with the Earl of Essex, and he as much with them, and that his part of the army were disaffected towards them, and desired peace; which determined them, the Parliament, never again to employ them. Also, that the Earl of Manchester was become unapplicable to their purposes, between whom and Cromwell there had become an irreconcileable breach; he, Cromwell, having accused the Earl of cowardice. His Lordship lays much stress upon the expression dropped by the Earl of Manchester in his altercations with Cromwell, that they should be treated as rebels and traitors in case his, the Earl of Manchester's, army should be defeated; which Lord Clarendon exultingly considers as an acknowledgment that the law was against them, notwithstanding the many declarations that had been made by the Parliament, of the law being for them. But this is an unfair construction of the Earl of Manchester's words. He could not be supposed to acknowledge, whilst actively in arms against the King, that he and his party were engaged in an unlawful and treasonable act; he could only mean to say, that should his army be defeated and the King regain his power, he would treat them all as rebels, (of which there could be no doubt,) without regard to the law being for or against them, he having always so considered and so called them, deeming, as he did, their resistance actual rebellion.

As to the reasons Lord Clarendon assigns for the Parliament not proceeding to an investigation of the charges of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell against each other, they may be founded or unfounded, for any thing His Lordship could be likely to know of the matter, as he was not upon the spot, and, obnoxious as he must be to the Parliament, not likely to be in their secrets. And so in like manner he was probably equally ignorant of what passed in the minds of the Scots after the battle of York, respecting their supposed wishes for peace.

The desire of the Independent party, whom His Lordship describes as enemies to peace, to lay aside their, Generals, the Earls of Essex and Manchester, is, it is conceived, improperly confined to that party; it must have been the desire of the Parliament; and it seemed to have become necessary by the late defeat of the Earl of Essex, and the failure of the Earl of Manchester at Dunnington castle, and his understood indisposition to engage the King's army, which, according to Cromwell's account, he might have defeated, and thereby have successfully terminated the war. This must have been an equally desirable event to all parties in the House, as none of them could expect any mercy had the King been successful. The difficulty must certainly have been very great, of removing these commanders and the officers attached to them, with the least possible injury to their feelings, and without causing mutiny amongst the soldiers serving under them.

Lord Clarendon's relation of the manner in which this measure of the Self-denying Ordinance was introduced into the House is most extraordinary, and indeed is incredible. It is not to be conceived, that the party supposed to be in the secret should think it possible to deceive the rest of the House into the belief, that the first thoughts of this ordinance originated in the suggestions of the prayers and sermons of their ministers upon the fast-day, who, he says, had, for that purpose, been previously instructed by their employers to lead the thoughts of their hearers to the subject; or that Sir Henry Vane and his party should venture to assert to the House that they had never thought of this ordinance till thus brought to their minds. It was too paltry and flimsy a device to deceive for a moment any one, but much less likely the men of great ability, of which His Lordship himself acknowledges the House to be composed: and Sir Henry Vane must surely be in earnest when he expresses his readiness to relinquish his probably lucrative employ of treasurer of the navy, to which he had been appointed by the King.

The following is Rushworth's account of the same transactions respecting this ordinance:—"Dunnington castle," says he, "was, soon after the battle of Newbury, relieved by the King's forces; at which the Parliament was much dissatisfied, and ordered the whole management thereof to be enquired into; and particularly Lieutenant-general Cromwell exhibited a charge against the Earl of Manchester,—that the Earl had been always indisposed and backward to engagements, and against the ending of the war by the sword, and for such a peace to which a victory would be a disadvantage; and that he had declared this by principles expressed to that purpose, and a continued series of carriage and actions answerable; and that, since the taking of York, as if the Parliament had then advantage full enough, he had declined whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, neglected and studiously shifted off opportunities to that purpose, as if he thought the King too low and the Parliament too high, especially at Dunnington castle: that he had drawn the army into, and detained them in such a posture, as to give the enemy fresh advantages; and this, before his conjunction with the other armies, by his own absolute will, against, or without his council of war, — against many commands from the committee of both kingdoms, and with contempt, and vilifying those commands; and, since the conjunction, sometimes against the council of war, and sometimes persuading and deluding it to neglect one opportunity, under pretence of another, and that again of a third, and at last by persuading that it was not fit to fight at all."

In answer to this charge, continues Rushworth, the Earl, for his own vindication, gave in a paper to the House of Lords, being a narrative of his proceedings, and which Rushworth gives at length. He adds, that miscarriages in the armies, and contests between the commanders, gave occasion for that new model of the Parliament forces, whereby the Earl of Manchester, Waller, and the Earl of Essex were laid aside.

CHAPTER. X.

RUSHWORTH'S ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE; A REFUTATION OF LORD CLARENDON'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME TRANSACTION. — WHITELOCK'S SPEECH IN OPPOSITION TO THE ORDINANCE. — CONSEQUENCES OF ITS PASSING.—THE NECESSITY OF THE MEASURE, AND THE SUSPENSION OF THE ORDINANCE IN FAVOUR OF CROMWELL CONSIDERED.—SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX'S ACCOUNT OF THIS PROCEEDING, AND OF THE NEW MODELLING THE ARMY. — LORD CLARENDON'S OBSERVATIONS UPON, AND IN FAVOUR OF THE NEW MODELLED ARMY.

RUSHWORTH gives the following account of the origin and progress of the Self-denying Ordinance: —that the first remarkable affair which presents itself to consideration in the year 1645, is the matter of the Self-denying Ordinance, as it was called, and new model of the Parliament army; which was designed and struggled for during some months before, but was not completely agreed upon and consented unto by both Houses till about the beginning of this year. And, says he, to give the reader a perfect deductiono f this business, we must look back to the 9th of December, 1644, when it was first started in the House; and thenceforth sum up the particular proceedings therein.

He proceeds, — The province he had undertaken was to consign to posterity overt acts, (*facta, scripta, dicta, prout facta, scripta vel dicta sunt,*) without either judging of their qualities or diving after the secret reasons of them; in assigning which, authors many times relate their own conceits, rather than the true motives which induced the actors to such resolutions: yet that it appeared in the preceding part of his (Rushworth's) collections, that the two Houses had taken notice of the bad success of their armies on several occasions, and at divers places; more especially of late at Dunnington castle, which was generally attributed to the ill conduct of certain eminent commanders, the General Essex not being then present; of whom some were thought too fond of a peace, and others over-desirous to spin out the war, and others engaged in such particular feuds: that there was little vigorous action to be expected from such disagreeing instruments; and that yet to search too deep into past miscarriages, or determine in favour of either of those that mutually recriminated each other, might, under their then present circumstances, prove the next danger to suffering a continuance of the same inconveniences. Besides, says he, there were of the army (officers, especially since the coming in of the Scots,) of two apparent parties; the one zealous for setting up presbytery, the other, called Independents, endeavoured to decline that establishment; and of this latter party

Lieutenant-general Cromwell was esteemed one of the chief: and as on that score he was little beloved by the Scots, so by reason of his popularity, General the Earl of Essex began to entertain some jealousies of him: that therefore he (the Earl), with the Scots commissioners, had a consultation about the end of November, or beginning of December (1644), touching the means how to remove him; of which Whitelock gives the following account: —

That Colonel Cromwell being made Lieutenant-general of the Earl of Manchester's army, gave great satisfaction to the Commons touching the business of Dunnington castle, and seemed, but cautiously enough, to lay more blame on the officers of the Lord-general's army than upon any other: — and the point of privilege was debated touching the Lords' transmitting of a charge from them before it was brought up to them: that this reflected upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell, of whom the Lord-general now began to have some jealousies, and was advised to put to his strength to rid Cromwell out of the way; and the means to be used to effect this was supposed to be by the Scots commissioners, who were not well pleased with Cromwell, upon some words which he had spoken, as they apprehended, derogatory to the honour of their nation.

That one evening very late, Maynard and Whitelock were sent for by the Lord-general to

Essex-house, and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did they know beforehand the occasion of their being sent for; that when they came to Essex-house, they were brought to the Lord-general; and with him were the Scots commissioners, also Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir J. Meyrick, and divers others of his special friends.

That after compliments, and that all were sat down in council, the Lord-general spake to them to this effect: —

Lord-general. "Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I sent for you upon a special occasion, to have your advice and counsel, and that in a matter of very great importance, concerning both kingdoms, in which my lords the commissioners of Scotland are concerned for their state, and we for ours; and they as well as we, knowing your abilities and integrity, are very desirous of your counsel in this great business."

Maynard. "We are come to obey Your Excellency's commands, and shall be ready to give our faithful advice in what shall be required of us."

Whitelock. "Your Excellency, I am assured, is fully satisfied of our affections and duty to yourself, and to that cause in which we are all engaged; and my Lords the commissioners of Scotland will likewise, I hope, entertain no ill thoughts of us."

Lord-general. "My Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the rest of the commissioners of that kingdom, desired that you two by name might be consulted with upon this occasion; and I shall desire my Lord Chancellor, who is a much better orator than I am, to acquaint you what the business is."

Lord Chancellor. "Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can assure you of the great opinion both my brethren and myself have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desired this meeting with you; and, since it is His Excellency's pleasure that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilke your counsel is desired, I shall obey his commands, and briefly recite the business to you.

"You ken vary weele that General Lieutenant Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services: but so it is, and we are, nevertheless, fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation in the general.

"It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the tway kingdoms, that this obstacle, or remora, may be removed out of the way, whom, we foresee, will otherwise be no small impediment to us, and the gude design we have undertaken.

"He not only is no friend to us, and to the government of our church, but he is also no well-wisher to His Excellence, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour; and, if he be permitted to go on his ways, it may, I fear, indanger the whole business: therefore, we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of that mischief.

"You ken vary wele the accord 'twixt the two kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant; and, if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against? Now, the matter wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word 'incendiary' to be, and whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be not sike an incendiary, as is meant thereby, and whilke way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sike an incendiary, and that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

"Now you may ken that, by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the public damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ:* whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore, with the favour of His Excellence, we desire your judgements in these points."

Lord-general. "My Lord Chancellor hath opened the business fully to you, and we all desire your opinions therein."

Whitelock. "I see none of this honourable company is pleased to discourse further on these points, perhaps expecting something to be said by us; and, therefore, not to detain you longer, I shall, with submission to Your Excellence, and to these honourable commissioners of Scotland, declare humbly and freely my opinion upon those particulars which have been so clearly proposed and opened by my Lord Chancellor.

"The sense of the word 'incendiary' is the same with us as His Lordship hath expressed to be by the law of Scotland, one that raiseth the fire of contention in a state, that kindles the burning hot flames of contention; and so it is taken in the accord of the two kingdoms.

"Whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be such an incendiary between these two kingdoms, as is meant by this word, cannot be known but by proofs of his particular words or actions tending to the kindling of this fire of contention betwixt the two nations, and raising of differences between us.

"If it do not appear by proofs that he hath done this, then he is not an incendiary; but, if it can be made out by proofs that he hath done this, then he is an incendiary, and to be proceeded against for it by Parliament, upon his being there accused for those things.

"This I take for a ground, that my Lord-general, and my lords the commissioners of Scotland, being persons of so great honour and authority as you are, must not appear in any business, especially of an accusation, but such as you shall see beforehand will be clearly made out, and be brought to the effect intended.

"Otherwise, for such persons as you are to begin a business of this weight, and not to have it so prepared beforehand, as to be certain to carry it, but to put it to a doubtful trial, in case it should not succeed as you expect; but that you should be foiled in it, it would reflect upon your great honour and wisdom.

Now, as to the person of him who is to be accused as an incendiary, it will be fit, in my humble opinion, to consider his present condition, and parts, and interest, wherein Mr. Maynard and myself, by our constant attendance in the House of Commons, are the more capable to give an account to Your Lordships; and, for his interest in the army, some honourable persons here present, His Excellency's officers, are best able to inform Your Lordships.

"I take Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.

"If this be so, my Lords, it will be the more requisite to be well prepared against him, before he be brought upon the stage, lest the issue of the business be not answerable to your expectations.

"I have not yet heard any particulars mentioned by His Excellency, nor by my Lord Chancellor, or any other; nor do I know any in my private observations, which will amount to a clear proof of such matters as will satisfy the House of Commons in the case of Lieutenant-general Cromwell; and, according to our law, and the course of proceedings in our Parliament, that he is an incendiary, and to be punished accordingly.

"However, I apprehend it to be doubtful, and therefore cannot advise that, at this time, he should he accused for an incendiary; but rather that direction may be given to collect such particular passages relating to him, by which Your Lordships may judge, whether they will amount to prove him an incendiary or not.

"And this being done, that we may again wait on Your Excellency, if you please, and, upon view of those proofs, we shall be the better able to advise, and Your Lordships to judge, what will be fit to be done in this matter."

Maynard. "Your Excellency and my Lord Chancellor are pleased to require our advice in this great business, and we shall deal clearly and freely with Your Lordships, which I think will be most acceptable to you, and will, in conclusion, be best for your service. Mr. Whitelock hath begun thus, and, in speaking his own sense, hath spoken much of mine, and left me the less to say; and I shall follow him in the same plainness and method as he hath begun, which I presume will be most pleasing to Your Lordships.

" The word incendiary is not much conversant in our law, nor often met with in our books, but more a term of civil law, or of state, and so to be considered in this case, and to be taken according to the expression wherein it is used in the accord of the two kingdoms, and in the sense of the Parliaments of both nations.

" That sense of it which my Lord Chancellor hath been pleased to mention, it doth bear *ex vi termini;* and surely he that kindles the coals of contention between our brethren of Scotland, and us, is an incendiary, and to be punished as it is agreed on by both kingdoms.

" But, my Lords, as you have been told, there must be proof made of such particulars of words or actions, upon which there may be sufficient ground for a Parliament to declare their judgment, that he who used such words or actions endeavoured thereby to raise differences and to kindle the fire of contention among us; and so, that he is an incendiary.

" Lieutenant-general Cromwell is a person of great favour and interest with the House of Commons, and with some of the House of Peers likewise; and therefore there must be proofs, and the more clear and evident against him, to prevail with the Parliament to adjudge him to be an incendiary.

" I confess, my Lords, I do not in my private knowledge assure myself of any such particulars, nor have we heard of any here; and I believe it will be more difficult than perhaps some of us may imagine, to fasten this upon him.

" And if it be difficult and doubtful, it is not fit for such persons as my Lord-general and the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland as yet to appear in it, but rather first to see what proofs may be had of particular passages, which will amount to a clear proof, upon which judgment may be grounded that he is an incendiary.

" And when such proofs shall be ready to be produced, we may again wait upon Your Excellency, and the business will then be the more ripe for Your Lordships' resolution; in the mean time, my humble opinion is, that it may be deferred."

Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages and words of Cromwell, tending to prove him to be an incendiary; and they did not apprehend his interest in the House of Commons to be so much as was supposed, and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the Scots commissioners were not so forward to adventure upon it; for the reasons, they said, did satisfy them, which were given by Maynard and Whitelock, until a further enquiry were made of particulars for proof to make him an incendiary; the which was generally consented to: and, about two of the clock in the morning, with thanks and compliments, Maynard and Whitelock were dismissed: and Mr. Whitelock adds, that they had some cause to believe, that at this debate, some who were present were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed among them; and after that, Cromwell, though he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to Whitelock and Maynard than he had been formerly, and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advancement, as would, he says, thereafter appear.

Rushworth, after giving the account of this interview from Whitelock, adds, that it might well be presumed that he (Cromwell) was not likely to be behind-hand in artifices for removing of those that would have removed him; but, says he, from whatever grounds or motives it sprung, so it was, that on the 9th of December in the same year, the Parliament's forces being settled in their winter-quarters, and most of the commanders-in-chief, who were members of either House of Parliament, being in town, the House of Commons took into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to its grievances by the burden of the war, in case the treaty for a peace, which was then propounded, should not take effect, nor the war be effectually prosecuted: that, after a long debate of this matter, the House voted themselves into a grand committee, where there was a general silence for a good space of time, many looking one upon the other to see who would break the ice, and speak first, in so tender and sharp a point, when, at length, Lieutenant-general Cromwell stood up, and spoke to this effect:

" That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting of all lingering proceedings, (like soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war,) we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament; for, what do the enemy say? nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament?—even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in the Parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but, if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief, upon any occasion whatsoever; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs: therefore, waving a strict enquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary; and, I hope, we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests, for the public good, nor account it to be dishonoured to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter." Another member spoke to this purpose: —"Whatever is the matter, which I list not so much to enquire after, two summers are passed over, and we are not saved. Our victories, the price of blood invaluable, so gallantly gotten, and, which is more pity, so graciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a bag with holes; what we won one time, we lost another; the treasure is exhausted, the country wasted. A summer's victory has proved but a winter's story; the game, however, shut up with autumn, was to be new played again the next spring, as if the blood that had been shed were only to manure the field of war for a more plentiful crop of contention. Men's hearts have failed them with the observation of these things; the cause whereof the Parliament has been tender of ravelling into; but men cannot be hindered from venting their opinions privately, and their fears, which are various, and no less variously expressed; concerning which I determine nothing, but this I would say, 'tis apparent, that the forces being under several great commanders, want of good correspondency amongst the chieftains has oftentimes hindered the public service."

But the first, proceeds Rushworth, that moved expressly to have all members of Parliament excluded from commands and offices, was Mr. Zouch Tate, wherein he was seconded by Sir Henry Vane, jun. and others. The debate lasted long; but, in conclusion, the grand committee came to this resolution, — That no member of either House of Parliament should, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance should be brought in to that purpose: that this ordinance was afterwards reported to the House; and on the same day, December 11th, a fast, for imploring a blessing on the intended new model of the army, was appointed by the Commons, and next day agreed to by the Lords, to be held on the 18th of that month by both Houses in Lincoln's Inn chapel; no strangers, not so much as their own attendants, to be admitted: and that, in further relation to this new moulding the armies, the House of Commons ordered letters to be sent to all the associated counties, forthwith to make payment of their forces, and to give an account of what monies had come into the hands of their respective treasurers, and how disbursed.

That, on the 14th of the same month, the House of Commons, in a grand committee, again took this ordinance into consideration, and it was very seriously canvassed on both sides: the several speeches of those who were for promoting it centering in the following reasons: —

1. That, upon passing this ordinance, the proceedings of their armies would be more quick, both in determination and action, when commanders, upon any discontent arising, should have the less power to sway and bandy one against another.

2. That if there were at present differences between commanders, being Parliament men, and

perhaps of several Houses, by this ordinance equal justice would be done, they would be recalled from command, and, by consequence, from further dispute or difference, thereby preventing divisions in the army, administering advantages to the enemy.

3. That the commanders would be the less able to make parties to secure themselves, when they had no interest in the Houses, and so become more easily removable or punishable for their neglects and offences committed in the army.

4. That His Majesty, by his late message, having acknowledged this to be the Parliament of England, both Houses had need to be as full as they could; and that, by this vote, the members, taken off from other employs, would be better able to attend the public affairs in Parliament, to which they were called by writ; and so the frequent objection of the paucity of members, at the passing of votes, would be prevented.

5. That, by the new model, the former weights that obstructed being taken off, the progress of the army upon new wheels would be more swift, and a speedy period put to the war, which was the general desire of the nation.

6. That thereby the objection that the members sought their own profit, honour, and power, would be prevented, when the world should see them so ready to exclude themselves from all commands and offices.

But, continues Rushworth, these arguments did not satisfy divers members, amongst whom was Mr. Whitelock, who opposed the passing of the ordinance in a speech of considerable length. But, adds Rushworth, after several debates, the ordinance passed the House of Commons, 19th December; and on the 21st of the same month was sent up to the Lords, where it met with many delays and much opposition, and was finally rejected.

That in the mean time the Commons went on in forming a new model of the army, which they agreed should consist of 21,000 effective men, the whole charge whereof to be raised by assessment, proportionably throughout the kingdom. They nominated Sir Thomas Fairfax to be General, and Major Skippon, Major-general. And, on the 28th of the same month of December, the ordinance for the raising and maintenance of these forces being completed and passed by the Commons, was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, who read it twice, and committed it February 1st, and on the 4th of the same month returned it, having passed their House with some additions and alterations, which, after several conferences between the two Houses, were finally settled and agreed to, and on the 15th of February was passed.

The substance of this ordinance was, to raise forthwith, for the defence of the King and Parliament, the true protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army consisting of a certain number of men, to be paid according to the establishment therein made, and to be under the immediate command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, thereby constituted Commander-in-chief, who to be subject to the order and direction of the two Houses of Parliament, or of the committee of both kingdoms: and Colonel Philip Skippon to be Sergeant-major-general. The Commander-in-chief to nominate the other officers with the approbation of both Houses.

This narrative of Rushworth leaves no room for doubt of the incorrectness of Lord Clarendon's account of the mode of introduction to the House of Commons of this ordinance; for Rushworth expressly states the Houses' theretofore notice of the ill success of their armies, particularly in the affair of Dunnington castle, which was generally attributed to the ill conduct of certain eminent commanders. He then states the day on which the House of Commons took into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom in respect to the war, to be the 9th of December, 1644. He then gives Cromwell's forementioned speech of that day, introductory to the proposal of the ordinance, in which, or in another speech on the same day, and upon the same occasion, there is not the most distant allusion to the fast-day alleged by His Lordship to have been held the day before this meeting, as preparatory to the introduction of the ordinance. On the contrary, it appears from the same writer, that the ordinance was ordered on the same day, (the ninth,) and that on the eleventh of the same month it was reported to the House by the committee appointed to draw it up: also, that on this latter day (the eleventh) a fast was ordered, to implore a blessing on the intended new model of the army, to be held on the 18th of the same month, by both Houses only: and that on the 14th they again took it into consideration in a grand committee of the whole House, wherein the measure was seriously canvassed on both sides: this was all before the fast-day. In the Journals of the House of Commons, it also appears that the fast was appointed on the above 11th of December, to be held on the Wednesday following (the 18th); and that the ordinance was on that day (the 11th) read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time on the morrow morning; but it was on that day deferred to Saturday the 14th, and then considered, and further consideration deferred to Tuesday the 17th, when divers amendments assented to, and some additions as amendments proposed, to be resumed on the Thursday following (the 19th), the fast of the 18th intervening. Thursday (19th) thanks ordered to Mr. Marshall, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Sedgewicke, for the great pains they took in their sermons of the preceding day. In the afternoon of that day (the 19th), the ordinance, with some amendments, was passed and sent to the Lords for their concurrence: the numbers for and against the passing are not stated. Rushworth says the Lords rejected it. By the Journals of the House of Commons, the consideration thereof appears to have been resumed 24th March following (1644), when it was read a first and second time, and committed: and on the 31st of the same month (1645) passed and sent to the Lords. In consequence whereof, says Rushworth, the General (Earl of Essex), the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, surrendered their respective commissions, which being done by their own consent, the ordinance was the next day passed by the Peers.

The above statement, it is conceived, proves, beyond the possibility of contradiction, Lord Clarendon's account of the introduction of this ordinance to be a misrepresentation.

It is curious and amusing to observe how implicitly Mr. Hume follows His Lordship in his (Mr. Hume's) account of the methods by which this intrigue, as he calls it, was conducted; which, he says, was so singular, and showed so fully the genius of the age, that he should give a detail of them from Lord Clarendon. From inattention, it is to be presumed, and too great a reliance upon His Lordship's correctness, he (Mr. Hume) falls into His Lordship's erroneous representation; which derives its consequence only from becoming a ground of a charge of religious hypocrisy, not, at least in that instance, merited, but which both

His Lordship and Mr. Hume are too fond of finding every opportunity of bringing forward against the Parliament party.

Mr. Whitelock's foregiven speech, so strongly expressive of his disapprobation of this measure, renders it quite improbable that he should vote for it; yet Lord Clarendon says he did vote for it, and he takes that opportunity to represent him as actuated in his adherence to the Parliament by the mean fear of losing his estate, which was in their quarters, having, he says, a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone; though, to his friends who were of the King's party, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his party. Under this supposed self-interested influence it would not be probable that he should ever venture to oppose the ruling party in Parliament, which he did in the present instance, and in other instances occurring in the history of these transactions; nor is it likely that he should detest all the proceedings of the party with whom he continued to act to the end of these times.

Much has been said in reprobation of this measure of the Self-denying Ordinance. It has certainly a disingenuous appearance; it was displacing their then commanders by, as Whitelock says, a side-wind; but there did not seem any other way of doing it, but that of bringing forward regular accusations, which the Commons wished to avoid, as disrespectful to those whom they continued to esteem; and those who were affected by this ordinance could not be deceived, but must understand the measure not to be unkindly meant. The fact was, that from some cause, probably well understood, but perhaps not explicitly declared by the Parliament, their armies had latterly been unsuccessful, and they had become apprehensive that the King would be victorious, which would put the Parliament into his power, from whom they had no reason to expect any mercy. Before it should be too late, they therefore deemed it expedient to try another set of commanders, and a new-modelled army. The Commons candidly acknowledge their views in the adoption of this measure in their foregiven reasons in support of it; and in the successful result is to be found their justification.

Ludlow, referring to the circumstances preceding and producing this ordinance, describes the enemy, contrary to all expectation, appearing again in a body near Newbury, where the Parliament army lay, who drew out to oppose them; that some small skirmishes happened between them; but that a general engagement was opposed in a council of war, by some of the greatest amongst them, and that thereupon the King, in the face of the Parliament army, twice as numerous as his own, had time to send his artillery from Dunnington castle towards Oxford without any opposition, to the astonishment of all those who wished well to the public. But, adds he (Ludlow), by this time it it was clearly manifest that the nobility had no further quarrel with the King, than till they could make their terms with him, having for the most part grounded their disaffections upon some particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him: but that though it should be granted that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the King to consent to redress the grievances of the nation, yet, that if a war of that nature must be determined by treaty, and the King left in the exercise of the royal authority after the utmost violation of the laws, and the greatest calamities brought upon the people, it did not appear to him (Ludlow) what security could be given them for the future enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wise men could engage with the Parliament, who being, by practice at least, liable to be dissolved at pleasure, were thereby rendered unable to protect themselves, or such as should take up arms under their authority, if, after infinite hardships and hazards of their lives and estates, they must fall under the power of a provoked enemy, who being once re-established in his former authority, would never want means to revenge himself upon all those, who, in defence of the rights and liberties of the nation, should adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings. These appear to have been

Ludlow's reasons for concurring in the measure of the Self-denying Ordinance.

Had there been no suspension of the ordinance in favour of any particular officers, there could have been no charge, or suspicion of any sinister views in the promoters of it. Whether the object of this ordinance really was to displace the then commanders and officers for the purpose of introducing those of their own party, cannot now with certainty be known; the suspension of the operation of the ordinance in favour of Cromwell, and of a few others, certainly affords ground for such a suspicion; but it should be remembered, that Lord Clarendon, relating the circumstances of passing the ordinance in the Commons, describes the presbyterian party as passionately opposing the ordinance, and as believing their party much superior in number to the independent party, and as presuming upon a majority; and only accounts for their failure by the secession of the Earl of Essex's party. Now, if the two sides of the House had been so nearly balanced, many who had voted for the ordinance, upon finding it was likely to be evaded by its suspension in favour of particular persons, would, in all probability, have joined the opposing party in preventing such suspension; when, on the contrary, it appears to have been agreed to without debate. The indulgence of the wishes of the General and of the Parliament committee with the army, for Cromwell's continuance a short time longer, upon the eve of a battle that might decide the contest, was probably deemed by the Houses no great transgression of the ordinance; and, upon a motion after the battle of Naseby, for a further suspension as to Cromwell, during the pleasure of the House: the Lords limited the time to three months, to which the Commons agreed, without a debate in either House.

Rushworth only states, when referring to this suspension of the act, that the committee of the Parliament, from whom the new-modelled army was generally to receive its orders, wrote to their General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, recommending the employment of Cromwell in the command of some horse to be dispatched beyond Oxford towards Worcester, to prevent an intended junction of part of the King's army with a part thereof under the command of Prince Rupert, he (Cromwell) having but the night before arrived at Windsor from Salisbury, to take leave of the General, seeming now to be as good as discharged of all military employment by the new ordinance, which was to take effect within a few days. Also Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Rich, (Whitelock says,) members of the House of Commons, were also ordered to continue in their commands forty days longer notwithstanding the ordinance. It also appears, from Rushworth, that a council of war, called by General Fairfax, determined to write to the Parliament, to request they would dispense with Cromwell's attendance upon the House, and that he might command the horse, an engagement being very shortly expected, in which his service might be of great use; to which the House agreed, and the General then wrote him the letter before given. This was shortly before the battle of Naseby, which was on the 14th of June, 1645, to the success whereof he greatly contributed. Cromwell's sincerity is to be always suspected.— His coming to Windsor, to take leave of the General, must, by his enemies, be deemed a covert design to bring him to the army, for the purpose of the first suspension in his favour: but it should be remembered, that these suspensions were the acts of the Parliament, grantable or refusable at their pleasure. The truth seems to be, that the different parties found Cromwell's presence in the army to be absolutely necessary to its future success.

Whitelock says that this suspension of the ordinance was much spoken against by the Earl of Essex's friends, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of their intentions to continue who they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their self-denying pretences; but that the Houses judged this fit to be done.

Ludlow, although lately no friend to Cromwell, makes no observation upon this circumstance of suspension in his favour; but merely states that

Colonel Cromwell, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance, was dispensed with by the Parliament, and appointed to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax; and in consequence of the victory at Naseby was so continued during the pleasure of the House.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who was no friend to Cromwell, in her account of the origin of this ordinance, says that it was too apparent how much the whole Parliament cause had been often hazarded, how many opportunities of finishing the war had been overslipped by the Earl of Essex's army, and believed that he himself, with his commanders, rather endeavoured to become arbiters of war and peace, than conquerors for the Parliament; for that it was known he had given out such expressions; that therefore those in the Parliament, who were grieved at the prejudice of the public interest, and loth to bring those men to public shame, who had once well merited of them, devised to new-model the army; and that an ordinance was accordingly made, called the Self-denying Ordinance, whereby all members of Parliament of both Houses were discharged of their commands in the army; that Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, surrendered their commissions, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was made General of the new-modelled army, Cromwell Lieutenant-general, and Skippon Major-general; that the army was reduced to 21,000 men, who prosecuted the war, not with design of gain and making it their trade, but to obtain a righteous peace and settlement to the distracted kingdom, and that accordingly it succeeded in their hands.

Whitelock upon this occasion relates, that the Commons sent some of their members to the Lord-General (Essex) and to the Earl of Manchester to desire an account, why their forces lay quartered on their friends near London, and did not remove nearer to the enemy, according to former directions: that at this time the Earl of Manchester was under a kind of accusation, and the Lord-General in discontent; Sir William Waller not much otherwise; the forces not carefully ordered, and the Parliament business but in an unsettled condition; so that it was high time for some other course to be taken by them.

All this shows the necessity there was of changing the command of, and new-modelling, the army. Mr. Whitelock was against, as has been seen, the proposed mode of doing it by the Self-denying Ordinance, but deemed the thing itself necessary. The mode he proposes in his forementioned speech, of openly removing the obnoxious commanders and officers, was impracticable, without by first bringing them to a public trial, showing the crime or misconduct for which they were to be removed; and this would have produced recrimination and endless animosity.

In a work entitled "A Short Memorial of

Thomas Lord Fairfax," written by himself, and published after his death, in the year 1699, and republished lately, amongst other select extracts, by Mr. Baron Maseres, His Lordship, referring to some things he deems necessary to be cleared during his command of the army, after giving a short account of his proceedings with the army in the North under his father's command, proceeds to account for his engagement in the command of the army in the South, meaning under the Self-denying Ordinance. He says, that some years had been spent in those parts in a lingering war betwixt the King and Parliament, and several battles so equally fought, that it could scarce be known on which side the business in dispute would be determined: that, though it must be confessed that the Parliament's army was under the command of a very noble and gallant person, the Earl of Essex, yet they found that time and delay gained more advantage against them and their affairs than force had done: that they therefore resolved to make a change in the constitution of their armies, hoping by it to find a change also in their business, which was then something in a declining condition: that in this distemper of things, the army was new-modelled, and a new general proposed to command it; and that by the votes of the two Houses of Parliament he was appointed, and which appointment, he says, he was induced, by the persuasion of his friends, reluctantly to accept. He adds, that when he came to the army, had it not been in the simplicity of his heart, he could not have supported himself under the frowns and displeasures of those who were disgusted with these alterations; in which many of them were much concerned, and that therefore they sought by all means to obstruct his proceedings in this new change, though they could not prevent what the necessity of affairs pressed most to do, which was to march speedily out with the army; yet were we by them made so inconsiderable for want of fit and necessary accommodations, that it rather seemed that we were sent to be destroyed, than to do any service to the kingdom.

The necessity of this measure, of the removal of the commanders, and new-modelling of the army, is thus further evident. The Self-denying Ordinance does seem to be the most delicate and least exceptionable mode of removal: the suspension of particular officers from its operation certainly leaves the proposers and promoters open to their enemies' charge of sinister motives; but there seemed no other way of accomplishing this allowedly necessary work.

Mr. May, in his Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England, observes of this new-modelled army,—That the usual vices of camps were here restrained; the discipline was strict; no wantonness, no oaths, nor any prophane words could escape without the severest castigation; by which it was brought to pass, that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe, and commerce free.

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the defeat of the King's army at Naseby, observes upon this new-modelled army, that that difference was observed all along in the discipline of the King's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell (for that it was only under them, and had never been remarkable under Essex or Waller); that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day; which, adds His Lordship, was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edgehill: whereas, the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. His Lordship adds, that the enemy left no means of cruelty unexercised that day (Naseby fight); and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of great quality. His Lordship does not give one name of these women of quality, nor is it recollected that any other writer makes this assertion. The character of the Parliament army renders it quite improbable. His Lordship acknowledges, however, that the Lord Goring's horse, upon his retiring to Salisbury, committed the same horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which were before well devoted to the King, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. His Lordship also, referring to the taking the town of Leicester by storm by the King's forces, in the presence of the King himself, says, — The governor, and all the officers and soldiers, threw down their arms and became prisoners of war, whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage with the usual licence of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places: churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldiers, to the exceeding regret of the King, who well knew, that how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest; but those seasons admit no difference of persons.

Whitelock, referring to this taking of Leicester, says, that the King's forces killed divers who prayed quarter, and put divers women to the sword, and other women and children were turned naked into the streets, and many they ravished; that they hanged two persons whom he names, and murdered a Mrs. Barlowes, a minister's wife, and her children.

Cromwell or his army are not, on the contrary, any where proved to have been guilty of such outrages. And he punished the few instances of irregularity in individual soldiers most severely.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

JAN 9 - 1930